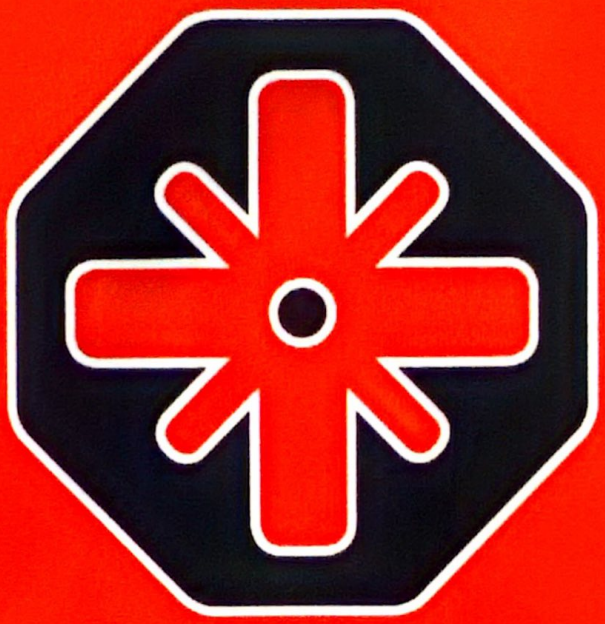
A Grammar of Macedonian



Olga Mišeska Tomić

SLAVICA

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Olga Mišeska Tomić

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To the memory of my parents.

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Preface

This grammar is couched in the framework of generative linguistics, but the constrained use of technical terminology and the recurrent reference to non-generative grammars of Macedonian, to Koneski's and Topolinjska's works, in particular, allows for a cross-framework accessibility of the data.

The focal points of the grammar are the structures of the nominal phrase and the clause. Phonology is only outlined in the fourth chapter of the first part of the book, in which basic facts about the socio-linguistic status of Macedonian, its development from Common Slavic, its dialects and its relationship to other Slavic and non-Slavic Balkan languages are also presented. It is noteworthy that the discussion of the prosodic behavior of the clitics represents an important part of the outline of the phonology.

Though, with the exception of pronouns and pronominal adverbs, the word classes are not displayed in distinct chapters, morphological matters are discussed exhaustively. The morphology of nouns and adjectives is presented in a chapter devoted to the agreement categories of gender and number, while the morphology of the verbs is presented in the chapters devoted to aspect and tense. Special attention is given to the forms and use of the definite and indefinite articles.

There are many tables and a wealth of examples in the book. Not only the examples in the part devoted to the clause, but many of the examples in the part devoted to the nominal phrase are presented in full clauses. In the chapters devoted to the tenses, mood structures and interrogative and relative clauses, different types of clauses are discussed.

Two linguists, Steven Franks and Wayles Browne, have played a crucial role in the publication of this book. Steven Franks used a previous version of the text in his class on Macedonian and made a list of questions which led to the correction of inadequacies and additional explanations. Wayles Browne read carefully two versions of the text and not only made a note of the inconsistencies, faults and misprints, but provided wise suggestions and eye opening comments with references and examples. Wayles's proposals for additional explanations that would make the points I made clearer to the foreign reader were very valuable.

I am extremely grateful to Steven and Wayles, who actually made the publication of this grammar possible. Thanks are also due to Aneta Dučevska, who proofread the final version of the text and made very useful comments. Last but not least, I would also like to thank Slavica's editor in chief George Fowler and his team for having made my book look good.

Abbreviations and Symbols

Abbreviations for Grammatical Features[1]

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
Acc	accusative
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
AgrDO(P)	direct object agreement (phrase)
AgrIO(P)	indirect object agreement (phrase)
Aor	aorist
AspP	aspect phrase
Aug	augmentative
Aux(P)	auxiliary (phrase)
C, C^0	complementizer
Cl	clitic
Collect	collective (plural)
Compar	comparative (marker)
CP	complement phrase
Det	determiner
Dat	dative
Def	definite
Dim	diminutive
Dir	direction
Disc	discourse (particle)
Dist	distant
Distr	distributive
DP	determiner phrase
ECM	exceptional case marking
Enum	enumerative (plural)
Eth	ethical (dative clitic)

[1] The present tense of imperfective verbs is, as a rule, not marked in the glosses. Gender and number of nouns are marked only when contrast has to be made.

F	feminine
Gen	general (plural)
Genit	genitive
Ger	gerund
GQ	generalized quantifier
Hum	human
Imperf	imperfect (tense)
Impf	imperfective (aspect)
Imper	imperative
Infin	infinitive
Inter	interrogative
Interj	interjection
IP	inflection phrase
Loc	location/locative
l-Part	*l*-participle
M	masculine
Mark	marker
MEC	modal existential 'wh' construction
Mod(P)	modal (phrase)
Mood(P)	mood (phrase)
N	neuter
Neg(P)	negation (phrase)
Nom	nominal
Nomin	nominative
NP	noun phrase
Oper	operator
O	object
Obl	oblique
Part	participle
Pass	passive
Past	past
Pf	perfective (aspect)
Pl	plural
Pref	prefix
Pres	present
PP	prepositional phrase
pro	empty category standing for dropped subject pronouns
PRO	phonologically unexpressed subject
Pron	pronoun
Prox1	proximate to 1st person

Prox2	proximate to 2nd person
Refl	reflexive
Repet	repetitive
S	subject
Sg	singular
Spec	specifier
Specif	specific
Subjun	subjunctive
Suff	suffix
Superl	superlative
Suff	suffix
t	trace
Tant	tantum
Tense/AgrS(P)	tense and subject agreement (phrase)
Term	terminativity
V	verb
v	head of *v*P
Vb	verbal
VP	verb phrase to the left of the specifier
*v*P	verb phrase dominating the specifier
Voc	vocative

Abbreviations for Dialects

DialMac	dialectal Macedonian
NMac	Northern Macedonian
O-ChSl	Old Church Slavonic
S-EMac	Southeastern Macedonian
S-ESerb	Southeastern Serbian
StMac	Standard Macedonian
S-WMac	Southwestern Macedonian
W-Bul	West Bulgarian
W-CMac	West-Central Macedonian
WMac	Western Macedonian

Symbols

*	=	ungrammatical or obsolete
?, ??	=	possibly acceptable[2]
%	=	acceptable in some dialects or by some speakers
←, →		marks directionality of cliticization
–		links items pronounced as a single phonological word

capitalized letters mark stressed syllables
capitalized words mark focused constituents

[2] The occurrence of *, ? or ?? to the immediate left of a bracket denotes that omission is not allowed or is seldom allowed, i.e. that the item within the brackets has to occur obligatorily or preferably.

Part One

Preliminaries

Chapter 1

Socio-Historical Considerations

1. "Macedonia" as Ethnic, Political, and Geographical Term

The Balkan region bounded by Epirus, Thessaly, and Thrace on the southwest, south and east has since ancient times had the name "Macedonia".

1.1. The first Macedonian kingdom, formed around 640 B.C., covered the area of the river Aliakmon (Bistrica) and the lower reaches of the river Axion (Vardar);[1] its capital was Vergina, which at the time was a port on the Aegean Sea (*cf.* Hammond 1970: 63). In the time of King Philip II, who ruled in the period 359–36 B.C., the Macedonian kingdom spread over an area which bordered on the mountains Olympus, Kambunia, and Pindus to the south, the mountain Boion (Gramos) and Lake Lychnitis (Ohrid) to the west, the river Erigon (Crna) and the Iron Gate straits on the river Axion (Vardar) to the north, and the river Nestos (Mesta) to the east. Towards the end of his rule, Philip II acquired the lands to the west of Lake Lychnitis and to the east of the river Nestos, but the newly acquired lands have been treated as annexes to his kingdom (*cf.* Andriotes 1960: 144), which can be referred to as "Classical Macedonia". Philip's son Alexander the Great conquered not only most of the Balkans but also a great portion of southwest Asia and created the Empire of Macedonia, thus replacing the ethnic reference of the name "Macedonia"[2] with a political one.

1.2. In the second century B.C., the Roman conquerors gave the name "Macedonia" to one of their first provinces in the Balkans. In the subsequent centuries the borders of this province varied, stretching from the Adriatic Sea (to which they referred as "Macedonian") to the western borders of Classical Macedonia and from the eastern borders of the latter to the Black Sea.[3]

---

[1] The Anciet Macendonians were most probably a blend of various ethnic groups, the substratum of which was Thraco-Phrygian (*cf.* Petruševski 1969: 33; Koledarov 1985: 12). Three thousand years ago, these groups inhabited the region around the upper reaches of the river Aliakmon, from where they spread eastwards.

[2] The word "Macedonia" can be analyzed into the root *maced-*, the suffix *-on*—signalling ethnicity, and the suffix *-ia*—signalling territory.

[3] For a substantial period of time, this province encompassed even the whole of Epirus and Thessaly, as well as northern and central Peloponnesus, i.e., most of present-day Greece.

1.3. Around 800 A.D., when the Roman administrative system of provinces was substituted by the Byzantine system of themes, the name "Macedonia" was given to a Thracian theme with Adrianopolis (Edrene) as its capital,[4] the traditional Macedonian territory constituting a separate theme, the theme of Thessaloniki (*cf.* Koledarov 1885: 17–25; Andriotes 1960: 147). Thus, in Byzantine times[5] the name "Macedonia" was neither an ethnic nor a political term—it referred to an administrative unit.

1.4. When in the seventh century A.D. the Slavs settled in the Balkans, the Ancient Macedonians had been Hellenized, had transformed into citizens of the Eastern Roman Empire, and were referred to as "Romeians".[6] If they lived around Thessaloniki, in the Byzantine theme of Thessaly, or, fleeing from the Slavs and Bulgars,[7] had migrated to the theme of Macedonia, in the southeastern part of the Balkan peninsula, they intermingled with Armenians, Assyrians, and other Asians, with whom the Byzantine rulers had populated the theme to help fight off the Slavs and Bulgars. If they stayed in their traditional area, they blended with the Slavic population, which all over the Balkans had formed their principalities, referred to as "sklavins".

1.5. From the beginning of the seventh century the area which was traditionally designated as "Macedonia" began to be referred to as "the region of the sklavins", or "Sklavinia" (*cf.* Niederle 1923). However, the autonomy of the sklavins was gradually reduced and by the end of the eleventh century the name "Sklavinia" became vacuous and disappeared. The southernmost sklavins—the ones that had settled in Ellada—were hellenized. The eastern sklavins either joined the Bulgarian state or were conquered by it. The Bursjaks, who had settled around the lakes of Ohrid and Prespa, during the last quarter of the tenth century and the first fourteen years of the eleventh (976–1014) were part of the kingdom of Samuel—the only mediaeval Slavic kingdom formed in the heart of Ancient Macedonia.[8] At the beginning of the eleventh century, however, this kingdom was conquered by Greece.

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[4] This transference of the name "Macedonia" to Thrace has caused much confusion both to the Byzantine writers and to the modern historians, who cannot always be sure whether the sources speak about Ancient Macedonia, the theme of Macedonia, or present day Macedonia (*cf.* Andriotes 1960: 147).

[5] Note that the term *Byzantine* is an invention of Renaissance scholars. It was not used in what we now call Byzantine times. (*cf.* Fine 1991: 15–16)

[6] Though Greek was the predominant language in the Eastern Roman Empire, Christian Greeks called themselves "Romans", the term *Hellene* 'Greek' connoting a pagan (*cf.* Fine 1991: 15–16).

[7] The Bulgars—a Tatar tribe—came to the Balkans very soon after the Slavs and in the seventh century founded the kingdom of Bulgaria. They assimilated with the Slavs that had settled in the eastern parts of the Balkans, and accepted their language, naming it "Bulgarian".

[8] While the Bulgarian scholars treat Samuel's kingdom as a continuation of the former Bulgarian state, the Macedonian scholars stress the fact that it was established by the son of a local

1.6. The disappearance of the macrotoponyms activated many ancient microtoponyms, such as "Thrace", "Thessaly", "Pannonia", which began to circulate along with the names of individual sklavins. The use of the name "Macedonia"—with the coverage it had in antiquity and not with reference to the Byzantine theme—remained restricted to maps, so that the originally ethnic, subsequently political, and administrative name, acquired geographic denotation. In this connection, it should be pointed out that, not only during the Middle Ages, but also throughout the Renaissance and the eighteenth century Classicism, the geographers continued to rely upon the Roman representation of the world and their nomenclature of the towns and provinces. This was due not only to the fact that the work of the Classical (Greek and Roman) authors was held in high esteem, but also to the lack of understanding of the administrative system and nomenclature of the Ottoman Empire, which from the middle of the fourteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century ruled over most of the Balkans.

1.7. Gradually, the name Macedonia began to be related with and attached to the people who lived in and travelled out of the region to various parts of Europe—first for commerce and afterwards for education and cultural purposes as well. Returning to Europe, these "travellers" brought the name back. As time passed, the Slavic population, though still using the specific tribal (sklavinian) names for specific reference, began to look upon the name Macedonia as their own—it became ethnic again.

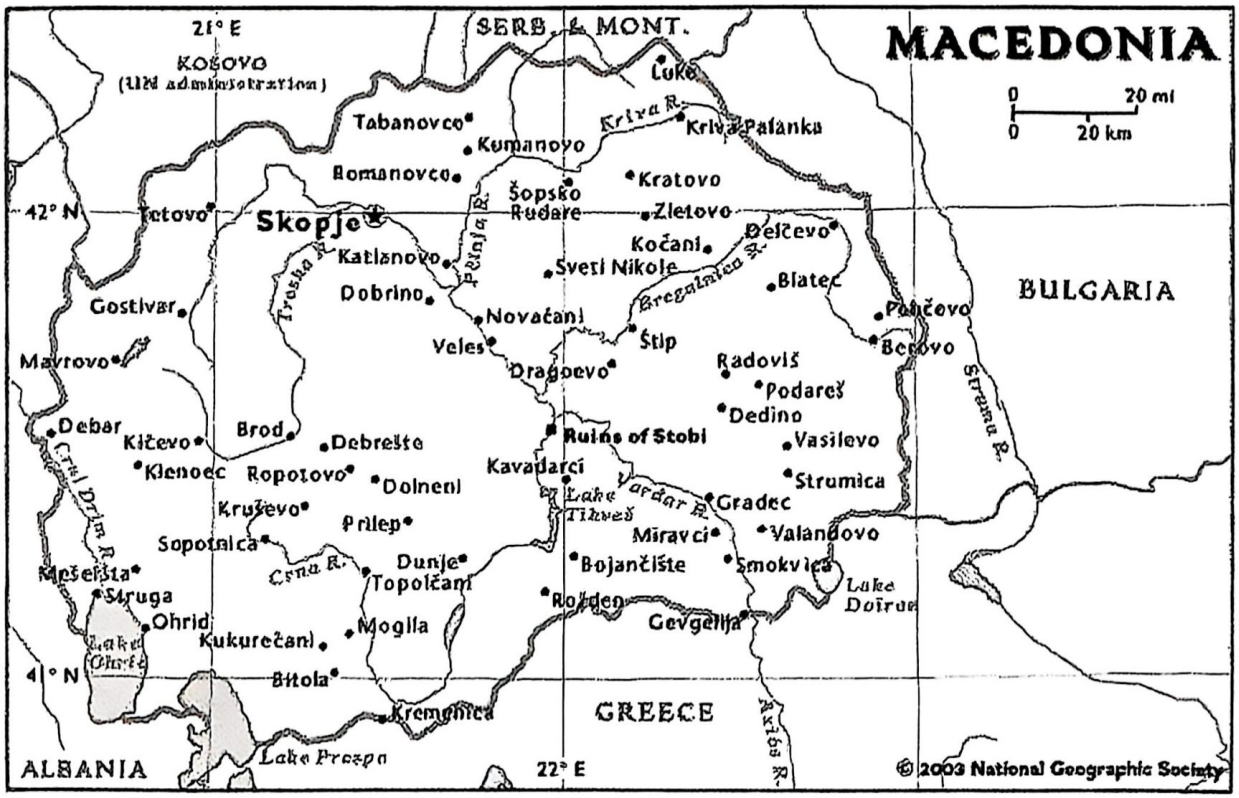
1.8. In the nineteenth century, under the influence of the Romantic movement, and with the aim of enhancing patriotism and focusing the attention of enlightened Europe on the struggles of the Balkan peoples to free themselves from the Turkish yoke, Ancient Macedonia and the glorious deeds of Alexander the Great were revived—both by the Greeks, who sought to create "Great Greece", which would encompass all the territories in the Balkans that were ruled by Alexander the Great, and by the Bulgarians, who aspired to reestablish the "Great Bulgaria" of the Middle Ages, which included most of Classical Macedonia. Since the reminiscences of the extent of the empires in the glorious past differed, the territorial aspirations varied and so did the borders of Macedonia in the maps drawn by the cartographers of the time.

1.9. The aspirations for Macedonia did not abate when the Greeks, the Bulgarians and the Serbs formed their ethnic states; on the contrary, they were reinforced. As pointed out by Lunt (2003/1952: 54) "the Macedonians were struggling against the Turks and the Greeks for religious and political freedom, and with the Bulgarians and

---

nobleman, in an area which the Bulgarian kings conquered relatively late. Evaluating these positions, we have to take into account the lack of evidence that any of the Bulgarian noblemen came west to serve Samuel. Moreover, having expanded his state in all directions to incorporate Bulgaria, western Thrace and Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Albania, and Durazzo, Samuel was crowned tsar not by a Balkan archbishop, but by the Roman pope.

A Map of the Republic of Macedonia



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the Serbs, for cultural independence". Following Kemal Atatürk's revolution, when the power of the Ottoman empire withered away, pretending to assist the liberation movement of the Macedonians, Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia fought for Macedonia and, having won the battle, partitioned the conquered territory among themselves (with the blessing of western Europe).

1.1.10. After World War II, the part of Macedonia which between the two world wars had been ruled by Serbia became a republic of the Yugoslav federation. Since 1992, it has been an independent republic.[9]

2. The Socio-Linguistic Status of Macedonian

2.1. Macedonian is an Indo-European language which, along with Bulgarian, Slovenian, and Serbo-Croatian (or Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin)[10]

[9] For historical reasons, the republic of Macedonia is still looked upon as Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian. For the Greeks, it is the land of "their" Alexander the Great; for the Bulgarians it is part of the glorious mediaeval Bulgarian state; for the Serbs it is the region which their most powerful king, Dušan, chose as the center of his kingdom.

belongs to the South-Slavic branch of the Slavic family of languages. Together with Bulgarian, it forms the East South Slavic subgroup of the South Slavic languages; Serbo-Croatian (i.e., Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin) and Slovenian forming its West subgroup.

2.2. Though spoken natively in the heart of Classical Macedonia, Macedonian is distinct from the language spoken in the kingdom of King Philip II, to which we may refer as "Paleo-Macedonian". As pointed out by Andriotes (1979: 13–14), the recorded Paleo-Macedonian linguistic material consists of no more than 140 words, noted by Hesychius—an Alexandrine lexicographer of the fifth century A.D.,[11] and ca. 200 proper names of Macedonian rulers, nobles, and glorious warriors, mentioned in various texts of the Alexandrine and Roman periods. Undoubtedly, this material is insufficient evidence for the reconstruction of the language; nevertheless, its morpho-phonological analysis has made it possible to conclude that Paleo-Macedonian was not Greek. In particular, whereas in all the dialects of Ancient Greek—that is, in Doric, Aeoloachaean, and Ionic-Attic—the Indo-European consonants bh, dh, gh appear as φ, θ, χ, in Paleo-Macedonian they surface as β, δ, γ, respectively, as they do in some of the satem Indo-European languages (*cf.* Kretschmer 1896, Wendland 1912, Schwyzer 1939, among others).[12] Whether and to what extent the idiom of the Ancient Macedonians could be characterized as a Thraco-Illyrian satem language, or else should be treated as "a cousin" of Greek whose phonological system was heavily influenced by the phonology of its Thraco-Illyrian neighbors, is, however, impossible to say (*cf.* Meillet 1920: 187).

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[10] Serbo-Croatian was standardized as a common language for the Serbs and Croats in the 1850s, following the Vienna Literary Agreement between Serbian and Croatian men of letters (*cf.* Herrity 1992). The Serbs, who had fought their freedom from the Turkish Empire, looked upon this standard as a replacement for the "Slavenoserbski" literary dialect, which had many Old Church Slavonic and Russian features, making it usable only to the literary elite. The Croats saw in it a powerful tool in their striving for independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Political developments during the last decade of the twentieth century have, however, led to the replacement of Serbo-Croatian by Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin. There are no significant structural differences between the Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin standards, however (at least not yet). While socio-linguistically we have four distinct languages, from the point of view of structural linguistics we are dealing with one language system.

[11] A great portion of these words comes from a list made by the Macedonian grammarian Amerias in the third century B.C. (*cf.* Andriotes 1979: 13)

[12] This linguistically-based conclusion has been supported by historical reference to Alexander's use of his native language, such as the one found in Plutarch's description of an argument of Alexander's with an adversary of his, during which the king "shouted in his native language (and not in Greek), summoning his aids" (*cf.* Šuplinovski 1992).

2.3. Standard Macedonian is not much more than half a century old—it was shaped in the course of the ten years following World War II, towards the end of which Macedonian was declared the official language of the Republic of Macedonia.[13] The first published statement referring to Macedonian as a distinct Slavic language was, however, published already in 1875 (Pulevski 1875: 48–49), following the refusal of the codifiers of Bulgarian to introduce modifications in the Bulgarian standard (which is based on the eastern Bulgarian dialects), and thus make it acceptable for the Macedonians.[14] In 1903, in his book *Za makedonckite raboti* 'On Macedonian matters', Krste Petkov Misirkov outlined the principles of a Macedonian "literary" language based on the "central Veles-Prilep-Bitola-Ohrid" dialect group, which after World War II served as the basis of standard Macedonian.

2.4. Judging by the readiness with which the Macedonian standard has been accepted (not only by Macedonians in Macedonia, but also by those living in Australia and North America, who are remote from the mainstream of language development), and observing that during the fifty years following its codification it has undergone only a relatively small number of modifications, one may conclude that both the principles set by Misirkov in his manifesto at the turn of the century, and the elaboration of those principles half a century later, were appropriate.[15] Of course, there have been issues open to contention—most of them triggered by endeavors to eliminate foreign influence, primarily the influence of the neighboring Slavic languages—Bulgarian and Serbian. The Bulgarian influence was very strong during the initial stage of the life of the Macedonian standard dialect, when Macedonia had intensive contacts with Bulgaria and while, among the partisans of Macedonian cultural development, there were many who had been educated in Bulgaria. With the distancing of Yugoslavia, which Macedonia was a part of, from the Eastern bloc, and with the gradual departure

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[13] The declaration took place on August 2, 1944, when the Republic of Macedonia, as part of the Yugoslav federation, was also proclaimed.

[14] Elements of dialectal Macedonian were used already in the sixteenth century in the translation of the sermons of the Greek writer Damaskene Studite. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there were ecclesiastic and didactic works published in a mixture of dialectal Macedonian and Old Church Slavonic, whose authors did not refer to their language as Macedonian. In the seventies of the nineteenth century, Macedonian intellectuals felt the need for a standard dialect free from archaisms and based on prominent dialects. They envisioned a Macedo-Bulgarian dialectal compromise in a standard that might even be called "Bulgarian".

[15] In accordance with the tradition of standardization obtaining throughout the Slavic world, the choice of the dialectal base for the standard was influenced by the fact that the western dialects exhibit features that distinguish Macedonian from the neighboring Slavic languages (*cf.* Korubin 1984, Tomić 1992). But differentiation was not the absolute principle in codification. Since the dialects that served as a basis for the standard are in the center of the territory where Macedonian is spoken, the west-central dialects are equally close to or distant from the other dialects.

of the post-war activists from the cultural scene, the linguistic influence of the country's eastern neighbor slackened and the issue lost impetus. The influence of Serbian was profound throughout the forty-five years during which Macedonia was part of the Yugoslav federation—the mass media, specialist (technical) literature, and the use of Serbo-Croatian as a *lingua communis* for communication with non-Macedonians in the federation, all catering to it. In the 80s there were heated polemics in the Macedonian press on the development of "bilingualism" or "linguistic dualism" in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. Towards the end of the 1980s there were requests for the formation of a committee for the preservation of the Macedonian language, which ended with the understanding that languages are not preserved by committees, but rather by intensive and extensive usage. However, a few years later, following Macedonia's withdrawal from the Yugoslav federation, the issue of Serbian influence was raised anew. Yet, the polemics about the influence of the neighboring Slavic languages have not triggered any normative actions. Nor have they had any effect on standard Macedonian, which seems to be affected solely by the Macedonian dialects.[16]

3. Number of Speakers

3.1. Macedonian is spoken as a mother tongue by 1,332,983 speakers in the Republic of Macedonia, out of a total population of 1,945,932 (official data from the 1994 census). It is also spoken by substantial Macedonian minority communities in three countries neighboring with Macedonia—Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania—and in three overseas countries—Australia, Canada, and the United States.

3.1.1. The Albanian census of 1989 officially registered about five thousand Macedonians in Albania but sources in Macedonia insist the number is twenty to thirty times greater (*cf. Nova Makedonija* Feb. 2, 1990). As pointed out by Friedman (1993/2003), this insistence is based on the fact that the last Albanian census only counted the Macedonian-speaking Christians of the Ohrid-Prespa region of Albania, where Macedonian is used as a language of instruction in elementary schools up through grade four. Macedonian-speaking Christians and Muslims, however, live in 50 to 75 villages in eastern Albania, as well as in many larger Albanian towns and cities.

3.1.2. There are no reliable data about the number of speakers of Macedonian in Bulgaria. The Macedonian sources (*cf. Nova Makedonija* May 16, 1991) estimate the number of Macedonians living in Bulgaria at 250,000, but the Bulgarian government, though recognizing the standard dialect of the Republic of Macedonia as an inde-

[16] The dialects will be discussed in Chapter 2, entitled: "From Common Slavic to Present-Day Macedonian".

pendent language, does not recognize any of the dialects spoken outside Macedonia as parts of that language.[17]

3.1.3. No reliable data exist about the number of speakers of Macedonian in Greece either. It is estimated that at the end of World War I there were some 500,000 Macedonians in northern Greece (Aegean Macedonia). Many of them were forced to emigrate to "make room" for the Anatolian Greeks, who were being settled in Aegean Macedonia during the "exchange of population" between Greece and Turkey. Quite a number of Macedonians were expelled from Greece at the end of World War II on account of participating in the communist uprising. Human Rights Watch (1994: 11) estimates that the number of Macedonians living in Greece at the present is close to 250,000.[18]

3.1.4. As for the Macedonians overseas, their numbers are estimated at several hundred thousand. More Macedonians live in the Canadian city of Toronto and the Australian city of Melbourne than in any Macedonian city other than Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia.

3.2. Macedonian is also spoken as a second language by the Albanian, Turkic (Turkish and Gagauz), Romance (Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian), Serbian, and Romani communities in Macedonia.[19]

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[17] Note that for a short period after World War II (1946–48) the Macedonians in western Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia) were recognized as a national minority, with their own schools and publications in standard Macedonian.

[18] Macedonian has never been taught in Greece, though a Macedonian primer entitled *Abecedar* was printed in Athens in 1925, using Latin orthography and being based on dialects spoken in Bitola and Lerin (Florina). As noted by Lunt (2003/1952: 51), the Macedonian population in Greece "has been decreased by emigration and hellenization; the language has never been permitted".

[19] Macedonian is an important secondary language for ca. 500,000 Albanians, 95,000 Turks, 10,000 Aromanians, and 50,000 thousand Roma (Gypsies) living in Macedonia. Note that Albanian, Turkish, Romani, Aromanian, and Serbian are in official use in the Republic of Macedonia.

Chapter 2

From Common Slavic to Macedonian

1. Two Periods

Macedonian comprises a group of South Slavic dialects located in the southernmost part of the Slavic linguistic territory, which have been a part of a continuum with the Serbian and Bulgarian dialects for so long, that today it is not possible to draw distinct boundaries between them.[1]

1.1. In the past, the Macedonian dialects were in close contact with numerous Slavic dialects on the territory of contemporary Albania and Greece, which can now be analyzed only through toponyms. Several common innovations in the western Macedonian and Montenegrin dialects, which are known to have taken place during the Ottoman rule in the Balkans, demonstrate that there was direct contact between West Macedonian and Montenegrin, which was not broken until after the period of the Ottoman rule (*cf.* Koneski 2001: 177).

1.2. The history of Macedonian can most suitably be divided into two periods: the old and the modern periods,[2] the dividing line being conventionally placed around the fifteenth century (*cf.* Koneski 2001: 178).

1.2.1. For several centuries after the Slavic invasion of the Balkans, the South Slavic dialects spoken in Macedonia belonged to the inherited Common Slavic type. In the Balkan environment, however, "Balkan" features penetrated into its structure. By the fifteenth century, these features had gained ascendancy to such an extent that one can speak of a new type of Macedonian. Most notable are the disintegration of the declensional system, the appearance of the article, and clitic doubling of objects. From the fifteenth century onwards, borrowings from Turkish were also frequent.

1.2.2. The first Slavic literary language—the one in which Cyril[3] and Methodius, sons of a Byzantine imperial official, made the first Slavic translation of the Bible—

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[1] Macedonian is more closely related to Bulgarian, the most important old dialectal feature differentiating both Macedonian and Bulgarian from Serbian being the open (low) articulation of the vowel ǫ. In the course of time, however, Macedonian has undergone a significant number of changes due to its contact with Serbian (*cf.* Vidoeski 2005: 12).

[2] With a transitional stage between them.

[3] Cyril was originally named "Constantine". He assumed the name "Cyril" (from which the name of the alphabet of the Russians, Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgarians is derived) when,

was based on a Slavic dialect spoken in and around Thessaloniki. In the ninth century, the people of Moravia,[4] where Cyril and Methodius were invited to preach, accepted this language as their own. Subsequently, different centers of learning added elements of local dialects. Thus, different versions or "recensions" of Old Church Slavonic arose—Bohemian, Moravian, Russian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Macedonian. As pointed out by Koneski (2001: 182), close studies of Old Church Slavonic texts show that, already towards the end of the ninth and during the tenth century, certain linguistic features distinguished the Macedonian (the Ohrid school) recension not only from the Moravian recension, but also from the Bulgarian (the Preslav school) one. The Macedonian recension is characterized by greater archaism, i.e., by a more consistent continuation of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. In the texts of the Ohrid school, the voiced post-alveolar plosive is preserved and archaic morphological forms, such as the active past participle of the type *moljь* 'pray.Act.Past.Part' and the aorist of the type *rěxъ, rěkoxъ,* 'say.1Sg.Aor' are common. There were also some innovations which gradually became the norm in Macedonian territory, such as the change /ъ/ > /o/, /ь/ > /e/. These distinctions are, however, insignificant as compared to the ones which ensued after the coming of the Turks on the Balkans, i.e., in the modern period.

1.2.3. There are two significant texts written in Macedonia in the early modern period: the translation of the sermons of Damascene Studite, made by the Pelagonian bishop Grigorij, and a short dictionary of the Kostur dialect (300 words with Greek translations),[5] both from the second half of the sixteenth century. The first printed book containing a Macedonian text is the tetraglosson of Daniil (an Aromanian from Moscopole, in southeastern Albania), first published in 1793 and republished in Venice in 1802.[6] These texts exhibit most of the features by which present day Macedonian is distinguished not only from the West and East Slavic languages but also from the South Slavic ones.

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not long before his death (869 A.D.), he became a monk in Rome, where he and his brother were summoned to account for the fact that the Christian religion was being disseminated in a language other than Latin.

[4] Nowadays, it is part of the Czech Republic.

[5] The dictionary was published in 1958 by C. Giannelli and A. Vaillant (*cf.* Koneski 2001: 181).

[6] As pointed out by Lunt (2003: 53), the tetraglosson of Daniil is not a sign of the strength of Slavic culture, but of its weakness. It is a four-language conversational manual, intended to teach Albanians, Aromanians and Macedonians how to express themselves in Greek—then the language of the dominant cleric and merchant class in the Balkan provinces of Turkey. The Macedonian text was prepared for Daniil by a priest from Ohrid by the name of Stefan, and is in the Ohrid dialect.

2. Characteristic Phonological and Morphonological Changes in the Old Period

The most important features characterizing the Macedonian recension of Old Church Slavonic were (a) simplification of the vocalic system, (b) dispalatalization of palatal(ized) consonants, i.e., loss of the opposition palatalized–non-palatilized, and (c) elimination of consonantal morpho-phonological alternations.

2.1. According to Koneski (2001: 196), in the ninth century, the Slavic language spoken in what is now the republic of Macedonia had the following vocalic system:

(1)

i	y	u
ь		ъ
e		o
ę		ǫ
ě		a

By the tenth century, phonological changes which led to the elimination of weak jers[7] and the vocalization of strong jers (/ъ/ > /o/, /ь/ >/e/) were in progress. The pronunciation of the jers was lowered toward /o/ and /e/, so that the strong jers fell together with these vowels entirely. By the twelfth century, changes affecting the nasals /ę/ and /ǫ/ took place—the vocalic features of these nasals were gradually lowered toward the pronunciation of /ě/ and /ə/, respectively. During the same period /y/ and /i/ merged. At the end of the 13th century, we have the following vocalic system (*cf.* Koneski 2001: 198):[8]

(2)

i		u
e		o
	ə	
ě		a

As pointed out by Koneski (2001: 199), the /ə/ phoneme was of different origin in different dialects. In the greater part of the central sectors of the southeastern and west-

[7] The jers were eliminated at the end of the word and before syllables with a vowel. The elimination of the jers led to relations such as the following ones:

(i')	*starec* /starets/	'old man'	:	(i")	*starci* /startsi/	'old men'
(ii')	*den* /den/	'day'	:	(ii")	*dni* /dni/	'days'

[8] In accented position, this system is preserved to this day in some villages around Thessaloniki, in contemporary northern Greece.

ern dialects,[9] by the end of the 14th century, it was, however, changed to /a/—the most important change after the change of the jers in strong position.

2.2. Old Church Slavonic had palatal stops, fricatives, affricates, trills and laterals. The process of dispalatalization of palatalized consonants, which occurred in South Slavic, has in Macedonian gone further than in the other South Slavic languages. The dispalatalization of the unpaired consonants /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /tʃ/, /dz/, /ts/, which took place during the 12th and 13th centuries, did not cause any changes in the composition of the consonantal system, though it affected relationships in phonetic syntagmatics.

2.3. The dispalatalization of the paired palatalized lateral, nasal, trill, and voiceless dental consonants, which occurred after the 12th century, affected the consonantal system itself. While the dispalatalization of the trill and the voiceless dental consonant took place in the majority of dialects, the dispalatalization of the lateral /ʎ/ and the nasal /ɲ/ was different in different dialects.[10] The lateral palatal was completely dispalatalized only in some west-central dialects; in many dialects it became an alveolar lateral. The nasal palatal had come into Old Church Slavonic in two different periods. In one group of dialects, the older /ɲ/ was dispalatalized before the rise of the new /ɲ/, while in others the older /ɲ/ had not been lost at the time when the new /ɲ/ arose and dispalatalization applied equally to all instances of /ɲ/, regardless of their origin. As pointed out by Koneski (2001: 227), there ought to have been a period when /ɲ/ was completely lost in the consonantal system of the western dialects and the old /ɲ/ was dispalatalized before the formation of the new one. The northern dialects, however, exerted pressure for the "renewal" of the pronunciation of /ɲ/ in some words.

2.4. From a historical point of view, the reflexes of the Old Church Slavonic /*tj/ (/*kt'/ before front vowels) and /*dj/ are in Macedonian particularly interesting: /k'/ – /g'/, in some dialects and /ʃt/ – /ʒd/, in others. A peculiar situation obtained regarding the consonant /dz/—by the end of the 11th century the old /dz/ had changed to /z/, but in some instances the opposite phenomenon occurred—namely /z/ > /dz/. The consonant /f/, which did not occur in Old Church Slavonic, entered the language during the old period through loan words from Greek.[11]

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[9] The Macedonian dialects are discussed in section 5 below.

[10] The distinction between the vocalic palatalized and non-palatalized trills and laterals is hardly visible in the old texts. In the western Macedonian dialect complex, however, the vocalic alveolar lateral is still operative.

[11] Originally, the Greek phoneme /f/ was rendered as /p/. Later on, it was rendered as /v/ and finally as /f/. Note that in many Macedonian dialects we still have /v/ in environments in which in standard Macedonian we have /f/:

2.5. Many consonant clusters were simplified. For example, the middle stop in the cluster spirant+stop+stop and the initial consonant in the cluster /vs/ disappeared. The dental stops between /s/ and /n/ were also lost and geminate consonants were reduced to single ones. Examples:

(3) a. *radostna* > *radosna* 'joyful.F.Sg'

b. *plěnьnikъ* > *plěnikъ* 'prisoner/captive'

2.6. Morphonological alternations /k/: /tʃ/: /ts/, /g/: /ʒ/: /z/ were eliminated.[12] Compare the Old Church Slavonic forms to the forms of contemporary standard Macedonian in (4):[13]

(4)	a_1	/poraʒǫ/ smite.1Sg.Pres	(from /poraziti/ smite.Infin)	O-ChSl
	a_2	/porazuvam/ smite.1Sg.Pres		StMac
	b_1	/xoʒdaaʃe/ go.3Sg.Imperf	(from /xoditi/ go.Infin)	O-ChSl
	b_2	/odeʃe/ go.3Sg.Imperf		StMac

3. Characteristic Phonological and Morphonological Changes in the Modern Period

The chief phenomena in the phonological development of Macedonian during the modern period are the reduction of unstressed vowels and the loss of some consonants in intervocalic position. The former phenomenon is limited to the southeastern dialects, while the latter is particularly characteristic for the western dialects (*cf.* Koneski 2001: 241).

(i)	/furna/	(ii)	fildʒan/	(iii)	/fener/	StMac
(i')	/vurna/	(ii')	/vildʒan/	(iii')	/vener/	DialMac
	'oven'		'cup'		'lantern'	

[12] In the western Macedonian dialect of Ohrid and in some other dialects between Ohrid and Gostivar the alternation /g/, /k/ : /dʒ/ has been preserved:

(i')	/pologot/	'the sheaf'	(i'')	/polodʒi/	'sheaves'
(ii')	/direkot/	'the beam'	(ii'')	/diredʒi/	'beams'

[13] The Old Church Slavonic examples are from Koneski (2001: 277).

3.1. The reduction of the vowels in the southeastern dialects is not automatic.[14] Thus, in the southeastern Macedonian dialect of Gevgelija, no reduction occurs in final open syllables in which the vowel signals a grammatical category:[15]

(5)	a_1	*moma* 'girl'	/'moma/	a_2	*%momta* 'girl+the.F.Sg'	/'momta/	S-EMac
	b_1	*dete* 'child'	/'dete/	b_2	*%detto* 'child+the.N.Sg'	/'detto/	
	c_1	*%ode* 'go.3Sg'	/'ode/	c_2	*%odme* 'go.1Pl'	/'odme/	

3.2. In the southeastern Macedonian dialects, including those of the lower Vardar, open vowels have actually been reduced to closed ones (/a/ > /ə/, /e/ > /i/, /o/ > /u/). As pointed out by Koneski (2001: 249), /i/ and /e/ can in some dialects also be reduced to /ə/. Compare the third person singular past tense forms in the southeastern Macedonian dialect of Gevgelija to their counterparts in standard Macedonian:

(6)	a_1	*%pletăx*	/'pletəx/	S-EMac
	a_2	*pletev* 'knit.1Sg.Imperf'	/'pletev/	StMac
	b_1	*%viknăx*	/'viknəx/	S-EMac
	b_2	*viknav* 'call.1Sg.Aor'	/'viknav/	StMac

3.3. The morphological situation in Macedonian is especially complicated in the verbal system. Thus, in the southeastern dialects with mobile stress, the suffixes have lost their relative importance as carriers of grammatical information and stress is a distinctive feature. Compare the present tense form in (7a), where the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, to the aorist form in (7b), where the stress falls on the ultimate syllable:

(7)	a.	*%vika* call.3Sg.Pres	/'vika/	S-EMac

[14] The beginning of vowel reduction does not go further back than the 13th century; it is at that time that examples indicative of this phenomenon begin to appear in the written documents.

[15] The words that differ from analogous words in the standard dialect are marked with the percentage signal %.

(7) b. *%vika* /vi'ka/
call.3Sg.Aor

3.4. Linguistic economy is expressed differently in the western dialects—by loss of consonants in intervocalic position and subsequent vowel contraction:

(8) a. *glava* > *glaa* > *%gla* /gla:/ 'head' WMac
b. *tovar* > *toar* > *%tor* /tɔr/ 'load'

3.5. In the old period, there was no voiced counterpart to the voiceless alveo-palatal phoneme /tʃ/. This gap was filled by /dʒ/ when a number of words with this phoneme were borrowed from Turkish:

(9) a. /dʒamija/ 'mosque' StMac
b. /odʒa/ 'Moslem cleric'

3.6. The consonant /x/ has been disappearing throughout the Macedonian speaking area,[16] though the manifestations are different in different dialects. In the northern dialects /x/ is lost in all positions, except intervocally, where it is replaced by /v/ (*cf.* 10a); in the western dialects (except in the town of Ohrid; *cf.* Tomić 1998) it is lost word-initially, while word finally and next to a consonant it is replaced by /v/ or /f/ (*cf.* 10b); in the southeastern dialects /x/ is still preserved in the aorist forms (*cf.* 10c).[17]

(10) a. /beva/ < /bexa/ 'be.3Pl.Imperf' NMac
b_1 /strav/ or /straf/ < /strax/ 'fear' WMac
b_2 /vetva/ < /vetxa/ 'well-used.F.Sg' WMac
c. /dojdox/ 'come.1Sg.Aor' S-EMac

3.7. Palatal consonants were obtained anew as the result of the so-called new iotation, when, after the fall of the jers, the clusters *nj, lj, tj, dj* were created.

(11) a. *jadenje* /jadeɲe/ 'food/eating' StMac
odenje /odeɲe/ 'going'

[16] The loss of /x/ does not go any further back than the 16th century.

[17] The phoneme /x/ has in modern times reentered the language through many foreign words (*cf.* 2.6. in Chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology").

In later developments, a parallelism between the development of /ɲ/, on the one hand, and /k'/ and /g'/, on the other, can be observed.

4. Morphosyntactic Changes

During the Middle Ages, the Common Slavic dual nominal number was gradually being lost.[18]

4.1. Considerable changes occurred in the gender and number markers of pronouns, adjectives, and participles: while in the singular the Common Slavic masculine, feminine, and neuter gender suffixes have been preserved to date, in the plural the masculine gender marker came to be used for both masculine and feminine gender.

4.2. Differences between declension types of nouns with distinct bases have been reduced to differences between declensions of nouns of different genders.[19] The case markers have also petered out—nowadays there are only specific Voc forms for [+ human] nouns, and in some instances general oblique case forms.[20] Instead of declined forms, contemporary Macedonian uses analytic expressions with pronominal clitics and prepositions.

4.3. Comparatives with *po-* are for the first time attested in written texts in the 14th century (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 143).

4.4. Many full pronominal and clitic forms were introduced in the modern period. Thus, third person singular pronominal clitics were obtained through reduction of an Old Church Slavonic pronoun (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 145).

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[18] Today the former dual form is used with masculine nouns modified by numbers and is referred to as "countable plural" (*cf.* Chapter 6, entitled "Agreement Categories Operating in the Nominal Phrase"). Compare the plural in (i) to that in (ii):

(i) *deset* *stola*
ten chairs

(ii) *mnogu* *stolovi*
many chairs

[19] There are some remnants from old declensions. Thus, the adjectives *nebesen* 'heavenly', *telesen* 'bodily', *čudesen* 'wonderful' and the poetic plural *nebesa* 'heaven.Pl' reflect the old neuter plural on *-s-* bases. The suffix *-inja*, as in *polinja* 'fields', *morinja* 'seas', *telinja* 'calves', *iminja* 'names' did not exist in Common Slavic—it is a relatively recent development (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 141).

[20] *Cf.* section 3 in Chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause".

4.5. The forms of the demonstrative pronouns and quantifiers have been extended:[21]

(12) a_1 *ovъ* > *ovoj* 'this.M.Sg'
a_2 *tъ* > *toj* 'that.M.Sg'
a_3 *onъ* > *onoj* 'the one over there/yonder.M.Sg'
b_1 *vьsь* > *siot* 'all/the whole.M.Sg'
b_2 *vьsě* > *seta* 'all/the whole.F.Sg'
b_3 *vьse* > *seto* 'all/the whole.N.Sg'

4.6. The postpositive definite article developed from nominal expressions in which the demonstrative determiner occurs to the right of the noun:

(13) *rabъtъ* > *rabъtъ* > *rabot* 'the slave'

4.7. From the 13th century onwards, the productivity of verbal affixation, which has always been a strong point of the Slavic languages, was strengthened. In particular, the affix *-uva-*, used in the formation of imperfective verbs, became very active.[22]

4.8. Existing sets of verb forms acquired two new modal uses—readiness and evidentiality, and new sets of verb forms with the 'have' auxiliary and uninflected past participles were developed.[23]

4.8.1. Readiness is expressed by present and imperfective aorist forms:

(14) a.	*Go*	*jadam*	*prasevo*	*kako*	*ništo.*
	3Sg.N.Acc.Cl	eat.1Sg.Pres	pig+the.N.Sg.Prox1	like	nothing

'I am ready to eat up the pig, without any problem.'

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[21] The old forms of the demonstrative determiners are still preserved in some oblique forms in the western dialects. Examples:

(i) *ovega* 'this.M.Sg.Acc'
(ii) *onega* 'the one over there/yonder.M.Sg.Acc'

[22] *Cf.* section 7 of Chapter 10, entitled "Aspectual Distinctions".

[23] Note that the category of evidentiality exists in Turkish and Albanian (*cf.* Tomić 2006: 333–411), the category of readiness exists in Turkish and Modern Greek, whereas the 'have'-perfect is encountered in all non-Slavic Balkan languages, except Balkan Romani. Examples (14a–b) are from Koneski (1986: 172), with my glosses and translation.

(14) b. *Odev, da me viknevte.*
go.1Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl call/invite.2Pl.Pf.Imperf
'I was ready to go (with you) had you invited me.'

4.8.2. Evidentiality is expressed by forms of the auxiliary verb *sum* 'be' plus forms of the *l*-participle:[24]

(15) *Sum ti go dala pismoto.*
be.1Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg.*l*-Part letter+the.N.Sg
'I have allegedly given you the letter.'

4.8.3. The 'have' perfect basically expresses resultativeness and experience.

(16) *Sè ušte ja nemam pročitano knigata.*
still 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg read.Pf.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
'I haven't yet finished reading the book.'

4.9. The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs became weakened. Many verbs can be used both as transitive and intransitive:

(17) a. *Sedna.*
seat-down.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he sat down.'

b. *Ja sednaa.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seat.3Pl.Aor
'They seated her.'

4.10. The infinitive, which in the early translations of the Bible into Old Church Slavonic (10th and 11th century) was used alongside tensed clauses introduced by the subordinator *da* 'that', was completely lost by the end of the 15th century.

4.11. The old active past participle started losing ground already in the 13th century[25] and was replaced by the *l*-participle, whose functions got restricted to predicative uses. *L*-participles came to be derived not only from aorist bases, but also from

[24] In a number of Balkan languages, evidentiality has developed as a grammatical category expressing subjective relationship of the participant in the speech event to the narrated event. The Macedonian category of evidentiality is described in section 10 of Chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

[25] The old forms of the active past participle are used as gerunds.

present bases (or, as some writers express it, from imperfect-tense ones; *cf.* Koneski 1986: 182).

4.12. The suffix *-t* began losing ground as a marker for the third person singular already in the 12th century, though it is still preserved in some dialects.[26]

4.13. The 3rd person singular and 1st person plural imperative forms disappeared.[27]

4.14. Old Church Slavonic had three aorist types: asigmatic, old sigmatic, and new sigmatic. In the period from the 12th to the 14th centuries a large number of asigmatic and old sigmatic aorist forms are encountered. Later on, only the new sigmatic aorist form was used, but the opposition between the aorist and the imperfect was transformed into an aspectual distinction through an elimination of tense forms when their most expected meaning conflicted with their aspect.

4.15. From the 15th century onwards, the Macedonian clause had all the characteristics that had become typical for the clauses of the Balkan *Sprachbund*.

5. The Macedonian Dialects

Macedonian is spoken in the central portion of the Balkan Peninsula, in the territory comprising the Vardar and Struma basins and the lower reaches of the Mesta (Nestos) river.

5.1. The northern linguistic border of the territory coincides with the political border of Macedonia with Serbia, the southern and eastern linguistic borders extend significantly to the south and east of the present political borders of Macedonia with Greece and Bulgaria, while the western linguistic border crosses the political border of Macedonia and Albania only to some degree. A mixed Macedonian and Greek population lives in a large area of Greece south of the Greek-Macedonian political border, the Macedonian population dominating numerically in the Kostur (Kastoria), Lerin (Florina), Voden (Edesa) and Pazar (Giannitsa) region, while a mixed Macedonian and Albanian population inhabits Macedonia and Albania along the line Skopje – Tetovo—Debar—Struga—Podgradec—Korča (Korçë) (*cf.* Vidoeski 2005: 12).

5.2. There are two clearly differentiated dialect complexes of Macedonian—western and southeastern, and a smaller group of northern dialects (*cf.* the map

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[26] In the dialect of Ohrid it is well preserved.

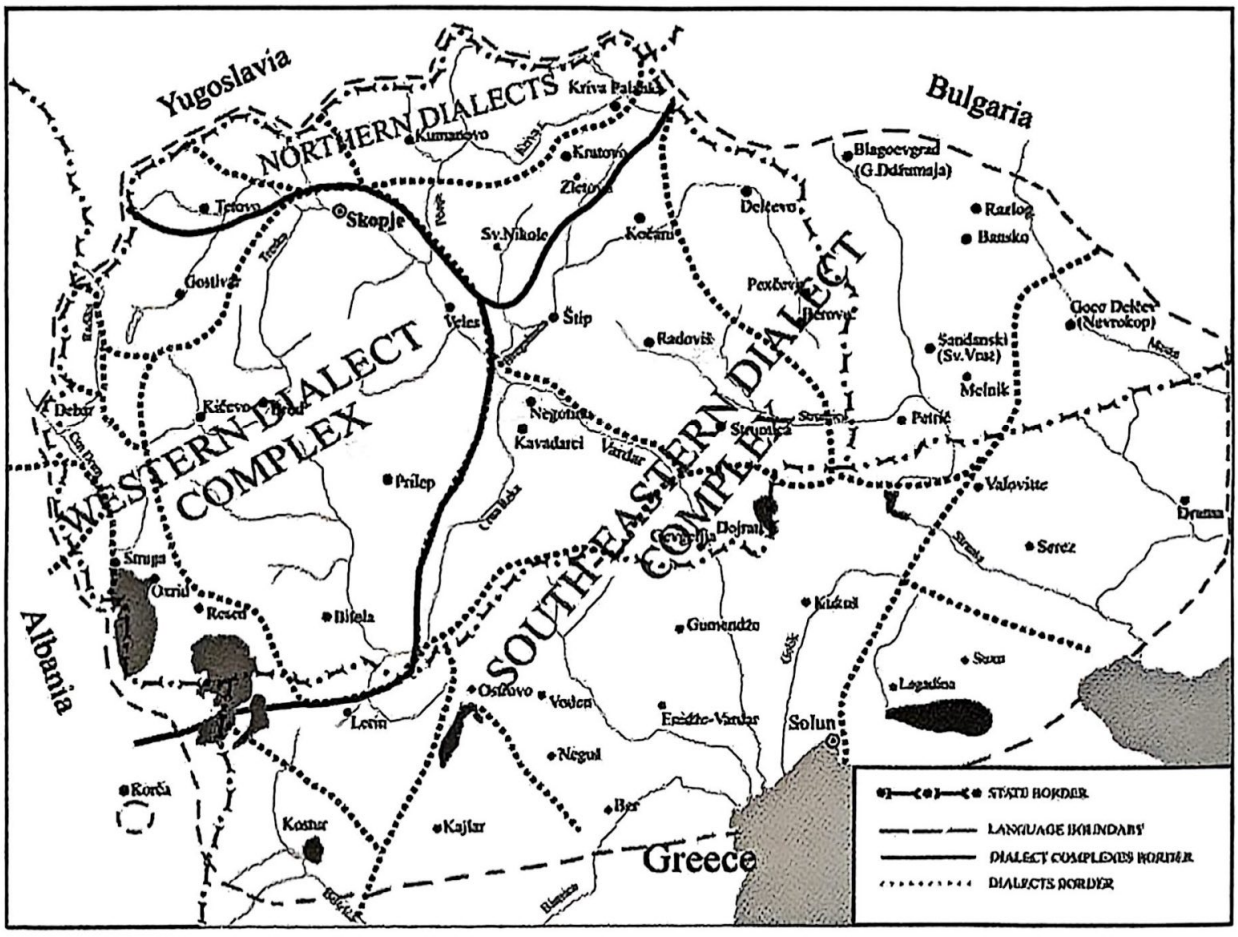
[27] Traces of them remain in the following expressions:

(i) *pomozibog*
help.Imper+God
'let God help (us)'

(ii) *spasibog*
help.Imper+God
'let God save (us)'

below).[28] The boundary between the western and southeastern dialect complexes follows the southern shore of the lake Prespa and the rivers Crna and Vardar (from the estuary of Crna to Titov Veles), cuts across the river Pčinja, and goes up to Skopska Crna Gora, northeast of Skopje. The northern dialects are separated from both the western and southeastern dialect complexes by a northwest-southeast boundary extending from Tetovo to Kratovo and Kriva Palanka (*cf.* Vidoeski 2005: 19). As pointed out by Friedman (2003: 177), the capital of Macedonia, Skopje, is located at the intersection of this boundary and the boundary that separates the western dialect complexes from the southeastern ones.

A Map of the Macedonian Dialects



5.3. The most distinct characteristics of the western dialects are the fixed stress—most often on the antepenultimate syllable, and a wide range of prosodically restructured phonological words.[29] The southeastern dialects have varying degrees of non-

[28] The map was drawn by Marjan Marković, a dialectologist, professor at the Faculty of Philology, University of Skopje.

[29] The antepenultimate stress and the prosodically restructured antipenultimately stressed phonological words are discussed in section 5 of Chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology". Note that the western Macedonian dialects spoken in Greece and Albania are an

fixed stress. In the Tikveš-Mariovo dialects, stress is paradigmatically mobile, but limited to the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables. In the Dojran-Gevgelija/ Lower Vardar dialects it is paradigmatically fixed and limited to the final two syllables, but is not permitted on final open syllables of nouns. The Maleševo-Pirin and Nevrokop/Seres-Drama dialects have free and paradigmatically mobile stress, while the Štip-Strumica dialects have free, but paradigmatically fixed stress and do not permit stressed final open syllables in nouns. The Tetovo northern dialects have antepenultimate stress but no prosodically restructured phonological words, while the Kumanovo and Kriva Palanka northern dialects have free but paradigmatically fixed stress. (*cf.* Vidoeski 2005: 127–44 and Friedman 2003: 178).

5.4. The west-central dialects, which constitute the basis for the Macedonian standard dialect have a five-vowel system—/a, e, i, o, u/. With the exception of the Mala Reka, Reka, Drimkol-Golobrdo, Radožda-Vevčani, Nestram, Korča, and parts of Lower Prespa dialects, the southwestern dialects have phonemic schwa in addition to these five vowels.[30] In the dialects of Reka, Drimkol-Golobrdo, Radožda-Vevčani, Nestram, and Lower Prespa phonemic /å/ or /ɔ/ is encountered, whereas in Radožda-Vevčani, Suho, Visoka, and Korča we have phonemic /ä/.[31] In the Lower Vardar and Seres-Nevrokop dialects unstressed /a/, /e/, and /o/ are reduced, i.e., raised.[32] Friedman (2003: 178) gives the following diagnostic reflexes of Common Slavic phonemes in the Macedonian dialects:[33]

exception; in them, the stress is fixed but falls on the penultimate, rather than on the antepenultimate syllable.

[30] The southwestern dialects have preserved more Common Slavic features than the central western dialects, and can be treated as archaic. As pointed out by Vidoeski (2005: 52), however, the division between archaic and progressive Macedonian dialect is partly a matter of definition. The southwestern Macedonian dialects have many more Balkanisms than the central western dialects and in this respect can be treated as progressive.

[31] While the vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ have no restriction of occurrence—they can appear in initial, medial and final position in all types of consonantal environments and in both stressed and unstressed syllables—the distribution of schwa, /å/, /ɔ/, and /ä/ is restricted in a variety of ways (*cf.* Vidoeski 2005: 123).

[32] In general, reduction is strongest in the south and most restricted in the north and the west.

[33] The reflexes labelled "peripheral" are those in Reka, Drimkol, and Golobrdo; in them /o/ stands for /o/, /ǫ/, or /å/.

(18)	Phoneme	ŭ	ĭ	ŗ	ļ	ǫ
	North	/sən/	/dən/	/krv/	/vuk/	/put/
	Central (east)	/son/	/den/	/krv/	/vək/	/pat/
	Central (west)	/son/	/den/	/krv/	/volk/	/pat/
	Debar	/son/	/den/	/korv/	/volk/	/pot/
	Peripheral	/son/	/den/	/kərv/	/vəlk/	/pət/
	Seres/Nevrokop	/sən/	/den/	/kərv/	/vəlk/	/pət/
	Gloss	'dream'	'day'	'blood'	'wolf'	'road'

5.5. There are numerous differences in the development of Common Slavic consonants and consonant groups in different dialects.

5.5.1. The development of the prothetic /j/ in the western dialects led to systematic oppositions between the western and the southeastern groups of dialects:[34]

(19)		WMac		S-EMac		
	a.	*jaglen*	/jaglen/	*%vaglen*	/vaglen/	'coal'
	b.	*jaže*	/jaʒe/	*%važe*	/vaʒe/	'rope'

5.5.2. The loss of jers in the consonant groups *svьn-*, *cvьt-*, *dzvьn-* had different reflexes in different dialects:

(20)		WMac		S-EMac		
	a.	*cuti*	/tsuti/	*%căvti*	/tsɔvti/	'blossom.3Sg'
	b.	*osuna*	/osuna/	*%osvăna*	/osvɔna/	'(the day) broke.3Sg.Aor'

5.6. A number of morpho-syntactic features also distinguish the western dialects from the southeastern and northern ones. Most prominent among them are the distinctions in (a) the forms of the definite articles, (b) the phonological behavior of the clausal clitics, (c) the use of Dative forms of personal nouns; (d) the use of 3rd person 'be'-clitic forms in constructions with *l*-participles; (e) the existence of series of perfects with *ima* 'have'.

5.6.1. The definite articles and the demonstrative pronouns of the western dialects exhibit triple spatial differentiation, referring to objects close to the speaker, close to

[34] Such oppositions occur as early as the 12th century (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 14), which leads to the conclusion that contours of the two dialect complexes—the western and the southeastern one—were shaped very early.

the addressee or distant from both the speaker and the addressee, while in the south–eastern and northern dialects the demonstrative determiners have only two sets of forms—proximate and distant, and the articles do not make any spatial differentiations.[35]

5.6.2. Whereas the clausal clitics of the western dialects are typically phonologically proclitic, the clausal clitics of the southeastern and northern dialects are phonologically enclitic and, consequently, cannot appear in initial position in the clause. Thus, in the southeastern dialects, when the subject is dropped, we have a topicalized phrase or a fronted verb in initial position, to which the clitics encliticize. Compare the western Macedonian clause in (21a), to its southeastern Macedonian counterpart in (21b):

(21) a. *Mi* → *ja* → *dade* WMac
1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2/3Sg.Aor
knigata.
book+the.F.Sg

b. *%Dade* ← *mi* *knigata.* S-EMac
give.2/3Sg.Aor 1Sg.Dat.Cl book+the.F.Sg
'You/(s)he gave me the book.'

5.6.3. In indirect object positions, the speakers of the western dialects use Dat pronominal forms, whereas the speakers of the southeastern dialects use Acc forms preceded by the preposition *na* 'to':

(22) a. *Nemu* *mu* *ja* *dade* WMac
him.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2/3Sg.Aor
knigata.
book+the.F.Sg

b. *%Na* *nego* *ja* *dade* S-EMac
to him.Acc 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2/3Sg.Aor
knigata.
book+the.F.Sg
'It is to him that you/(s)he gave the book.'

[35] *Cf.* section 3 in Chapter 7, entitled "The Category of Definiteness and the Articles".

5.6.4. In the southeastern dialects, the 3rd person 'be'-clitic form co-occurs with *l*-participles, whereas in the western dialects it does not. Thus, we have the following contrast:

(23) a. *%Nego go e videl* S-EMac
him.Acc 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part

b. *Nego go videl.* WMac
him.Acc 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
'It is him he has seen.'

5.6.5. In southeastern Macedonian clauses corresponding to western Macedonian clauses with the 'have'-perfect, we have 'be'-perfects:

(24) a. *Go nemam videno.* WMac
3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg seen.Past.Part

b. *%Ne-săm ga videl.* EMac
not-be.1Sg 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
'I haven't seen him/it.'

6. Phases in the Development of the Macedonian Lexicon

The evolution of the Macedonian lexicon has gone through three phases. In the first phase the contact with Greek was decisive. The second phase is the phase of Turkish influence, which reached its summit in the 19th century. The third phase is the phase of reliance on Slavic word-formation, which began in the 19th century and continues to date (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 209–10). In all of these phases, Macedonian acquired words from prestigious languages, while developing its own word-formation patterns.

6.1. Two events in the cultural history of Macedonia have played a decisive role in the development of the Macedonian lexicon: (a) the creation of the first Slavic alphabet and the work of the literary work of the Ohrid School in the 9th and 10th centuries; (b) the foundation of the Macedonian standard dialect in the 20th century.

6.2. The suffixes *-telъ* and *-(n)ie* were very productive in the writings of the apostles of the Ohrid School (of Klement, in particular), while in the Preslav school, in Bulgaria, the prefix *-bcь* prevailed. In the 19th century, under the influence of Russian, the suffixes *-tel,* and *-nie* came to be preferred. In standard Macedonian, however, the suffixes *-ač* (as in *gledač* 'spectator'), *-ba* (as in *sostojba* 'condition') and *-nje* (as in *prašanje* 'question'), as well as zero suffixed nouns (as in *odnos* 'relation-

ship' or *tek* 'course'), which are typical for the vernacular language, have been given preference over *-tel* and *-nie*[36] (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 211–12).

6.3. The great number of borrowings from the Balkan languages testifies to the intensive contacts of the speakers of Macedonian with speakers of those languages.

6.3.1. There are about one thousand words of Greek origin in Macedonian (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 214).[37] Among them are (a) lexical words; (b) function words; (c) exclamative words; (d) verb forms; (e) compound constituents; (f) word-formative affixes. Respective examples are given in (24):

(25) a. *bosilek* 'basil' (from the Greek word *basiliko*, which in Old Greek was *basileion* and meant 'king's flower')

b. the complementizer *oti* 'that'

c. *more,*[38] as in *More Petko!* 'You, Petko!'

d. *ela* 'come.2Sg' and *elate* 'come.2Pl'

e. *kata-*, as in *katavečer* 'every evening'

f. *-sa,*[39] as in *krvosa* 'cover-with-blood.3Sg.Aor'

6.3.2. Quite a number of Romance words have entered the Macedonian lexicon. Among them are words that originated in (a) Vulgar Latin; (b) Italian; (c) Aromanian.[40] Respective examples are given in (26):[41]

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[36] The use of these suffixes is not precluded in Macedonian. Thus, we have the following examples:

(i) *učitel* 'teacher'

(ii) *povedenie* 'behavior'

[37] Slavic influence on the Greek lexicon has not been intensive. There are *cca.* three hundred words of Slavic origin, most of them used in the Northern Greek dialects.

[38] This word was originally the vocative form of the Greek word *moros* 'crazy'.

[39] This suffix was detached from words such as *kinisa* 'start-to-go.3Sg.Aor' *or xaresa* 'like. 3Sg.Aor', which were borrowed as such in colloquial Macedonian. It is, however, very productive and can be combined with affixes of vernacular origin:

(i) *krvosuva* 'cover-with-blood.3Sg.Pres'

(ii) *crvosuva* 'swarm-with-worms.3Sg.Pres'

[40] The number of borrowings from Aromanian is very limited. There were many more borrowings from Macedonian into Aromanian.

[41] The examples are from Koneski (1986: 216–17), with my glosses and translation.

(26) a_1 *klisura* 'gorge' (from the Vulgar Latin word *clausura*)
a_2 *košula* 'shirt' (from the Vulgar Latin word *casula)*
b_1 *pogača* '(type of) bread' (from the Italian word *focaccia)*
b_2 *mandža* 'cooked meal' (from the Italian word *mangia)*
c_1 *masa* 'table' (from the Aromanian word *masă)*
c_2 *murgav* 'dark' (from the Aromanian word *murgu)*

6.3.3. A very limited number of words were borrowed from Albanian, most of them in the dialects.[42]

6.3.4. Turkish was for five centuries the language of the rulers of the Balkan peninsula and, along with Greek, was used intensively as a second language by the intellectual elite and tradesmen who were native speakers of other Balkan languages. It is no wonder, therefore, that Turkish exercised a very strong influence upon the lexicon of all Balkan languages, Macedonian among them. Some 3000 words have entered the Macedonian lexicon from Turkish (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 218), many of them from Arabic or Persian origin probably. Most of these words are, however, referred to as "colloquial" or "archaic" and some of them have gone out of use.

6.3.4.1. Some words of Turkish provenance, e.g., those in (27), appear already in the 16th century in Damaskene Studite's sermons (*cf.* Koneski 1986: 218):

(27) a. *%dugane* 'shops'
b. *%kafas* 'cage'
c. *%kese* 'bag'

6.3.4.2. Most words of Turkish provenance have doublets in the vernacular. Examples:

(28)	Words of Turkish provenance	Vernacular words	
a.	*%erbap*	*sposoben*	'able'
b.	*%marifet*	*ostvaruvanje*	'achievement'
c.	*%sevda*	*ljubov*	'love'
d.	*%tabiet*	*karakter*	'character'
e.	*%utija*	*pegla*	'iron (for clothes)'

[42] Many more words were borrowed from Macedonian into Albanian.

6.3.4.3. There are a number of function words and suffixes of Turkish origin. Examples:

(29) a. *ama* 'but'
b. *zar* 'whether'
c. *čunki* 'as if'
d. *%ič* 'not at all'
e. *makar* 'even'
f. *%sade* 'only'

(30) a. *-džija*, as in *golemdžija* 'a big shot'
b. *-lak*, as in *vojniklak* 'military service'

Chapter 3

Balkan Aspects of Macedonian Grammar

1. The Balkan *Sprachbund* Features

Clement and Naum, pupils of the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius, engaged in very productive religious and literary activity in the western Macedonian city of Ohrid. Their preaching and teaching, along with the inauguration of a patriarchate in Ohrid, during the rule of Czar Samuel (976–1014), are very significant for medieval Slavic cultural history and for the development of Old Church Slavonic. Even though, after the fall of the empire of Czar Samuel, the Ohrid church was demoted to the rank of archbishopric,[1] the existence of an autonomous (autocephalous) ecclesiastical organization for eight centuries[2] gave the entire region a special significance, regardless of the historical changes which took place during that period. Yet, at the present, as pointed out by Koneski (2001: 177), Macedonian occupies a peripheral position in the Slavic linguistic world. The reason for this is not only the relatively small number of speakers and recent standardization, but also, and more importantly, the multi-lingual environment on the Balkans, which caused Macedonian to drift away from Common Slavic more than any other Slavic language and develop features that have come to be referred to as Balkan *Sprachbund* features.[3]

Lindstedt (2000) singles out twelve grammatical Balkan *Sprachbund* features or Balkanisms and examines their attestation in five language groups of the Balkan *Sprachbund*: Greek, Albanian, Balkan Romance—including Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, Balkan Slavic—including Bulgarian, Macedonian and the Torlak Serbian dialects, and Balkan Romani. Giving one point for each "full" attesta-

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[1] The fact that the Ohrid archbishopric was headed by Greek archbishops and Greek was its official language contributed to the spread of Greek cultural and linguistic influence in Macedonia. Even after the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, Greek was the language of prestige, and along with Turkish—the language of the administration, and Aromanian and Albanian—languages with which the Macedonians in western Macedonia were in close contact, exercised a strong influence upon the phonology and structure of Macedonian.

[2] The archbishopric was abolished in 1767.

[3] The term *Sprachbund* was introduced by Trubetzkoy (1928: 17–18) who argued that the languages of a *Sprachbund* (a) are remarkably similar in sentence-structure and word-formation but show no systematic sound correspondences and (b) have a great number of common "cultural" words, though their basic vocabularies may be diametrically different. Goląb (1956) defined the Balkan *Sprachbund* languages as a group of languages that have a large number of common calques and identical formal structure.

tion and half a point for a partial attestation, he calculates the Balkanization indices of the language groups discussed and receives the following scores: Balkan Slavic 11.5; Albanian 10.5; Balkan Romance and Greek 9.5 each; Romani 7.5. According to this "computation", the Balkan Slavic languages are the most Balkanized ones and Macedonian actually scored 12. Thus, the peripheral position among the Slavic languages has been counterbalanced with a central place in the Balkan *Sprachbund.*[4]

1.1. Balkan *Sprachbund* Features of the Macedonian Verbal System

A number of features characteristic for the Balkan *Sprachbund* verbal systems are very prominent in Macedonian; in particular: (a) loss of the infinitive and its replacement by structurally comparable subjunctive constructions, (b) 'will' future and future-in-the-past with tensed verbs, (c) 'have' present and past perfects, (d) evidentials.

1.1.1. The Macedonian subjunctive constructions are tensed verbs, preceded by the subjunctive marker *da*,[5] occurring as (a) complements of modal verbs; (b) complements of a group of verbs that may go under the name "intentional verbs" and include control verbs, such as verbs with the meaning 'try', causatives, such as verbs with the meaning 'force', volitional verbs, such as verbs with the meaning 'want' or inchoatives, such as verbs with the meaning 'start'; and (c) "bare subjunctives", i.e., structures that do not occur in complement positions of main clauses. Examples:[6]

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[4] Though, throughout the period when the Balkan *Sprachbund* features were developing, Greek was most prestigious and most frequently used by speakers of the other languages in the area, it is not in Greek that the number of Balkan *Sprachbund* features is greatest, probably because, for the native speakers of Greek, the need of changes for the sake of communication has not been very urgent. Balkan Romani, on the other hand, has a relatively small number of Balkan Sprachbund features because it is spoken by a relatively small number of non-native speakers.

[5] The subjunctive marker *da* is formally distinct from the 'that'-complementizers *deka* and *oti*, which introduce indicative clauses. Compare (i) to (ii):

(i) *Saka* *da* *dojde.*
want.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he wants to come.'

(ii) *Reče* *deka/oti* *došla* *Jana.*
say.3Sg that come.F.Sg.*l*-Part Jana
'(S)he said that Jana has come.'

[6] The occurrence of subjunctive constructions is discussed in sections 4 and 5 of Chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures".

(1) a. *Treba/ mora da dojdeš.*
should.3Sg must.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'You should/must come.'

b. *Izbegnuva da te sretne.*
avoid.3Sg Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl meet.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he avoids meeting you.'

c. *Da odiš!*
Subjun.Mark go.2Sg
'You should go!'

1.1.2. The Macedonian 'will' future tense was in the past formed by a 'will' clitic followed by a subjunctive construction, as is nowadays the case in a number of Balkan *Sprachbund* languages, in some of which the 'will' clitic also appears in different person/number forms.[7] Subsequently, the subjunctive marker disappeared and we have a 'will' clitic followed by tensed verb forms:[8]

(2) *Ḱe ti ja čitam/*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.1Sg.Impf.Pres
pročitam knigava utre.
read.1Sg.Pf.Pres book+the.F.Sg.Prox1 tomorrow
'I will read this book to you tomorrow.'

1.1.2.1. It is noteworthy that the 'will' clitic also appears with imperfective aorist forms to form a future-in-the-past tense, which is most often used in the *apodosis* of *irrealis* conditional sentences, i.e., in the *apodosis* of conditional sentences that cannot be realized (*cf.* (3)):[9]

(3) *Da/ako sakaše, ḱe dojdeše.*
Subjun.Mark/if want.2/3Sg.Imperf will.Mod.Cl come.2/3.Pf.Imperf
1. 'If you/(s)he wanted, you/(s)he would come.'
2. 'If you/(s)he had wanted, you/(s)he would have come.'

1.1.3. The 'have' present and past perfects, in which the 'have' auxiliary is followed by invariant perfect participles, appeared in Macedonian relatively recently,

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[7] *Cf.* Chapter Six in Tomić 2006.

[8] *Cf.* section 6.1 in Chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures".

[9] *Cf.* section 7.2 in Chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures".

being acquired through contact with non-Slavic Balkan languages. Initially, they were predominately used in the southwestern Macedonian dialects, which were in close contact with Albanian, Aromanian, and Greek—languages which influenced their development. Nowadays, they are currently used in standard Macedonian, though often as alternatives to the original (common Slavic) 'be' perfects. Examples of 'have' present and past perfects, with readings analogous to the experiential and resultative readings of the perfect tenses described by Comrie (1976), are given in (4a) and (4b), respectively:[10]

(4) a. *Sè ušte ja nemam/ nemav*
still 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg.Pres not+have.1Sg.Imperf
pročitano knigata.
read.Pf.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
'I haven't/hadn't yet finished reading the book.'

b. *Imam/ imav dojdeno ovde poveḱe pati.*
have.1Sg.Pres have.1Sg.Imperf come.Pf.Past.Part here more times
'I have/had come here more than once.'

1.1.4. The category of evidentiality is a new modal category which expresses the subjective relationship of the participant in the speech event to the narrated event,[11] its markers being exponents of the common Slavic 'be' perfect. Influenced by contact with Turkish, the evidentials originated in southwestern Macedonian, where there was a heavy concentration of Turkish speakers (*cf.* Friedman 2004); nowadays, however, they are currently used in standard Macedonian, though the 'be' perfects are often also used as exponents of the perfect. In the languages in which they operate, the evidentials have distinct uses. In Macedonian, they most often impart the speaker's non-awareness of the event referred to, but can also express surprise, admiration, amazement or irony:

(5) a. *Veli deka si me videl.*
say.3Sg that be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
'(S)he says that you have seen me.'

[10] The 'have' perfects are discussed in detail in section 7 of Chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

[11] Evidentiality is discussed in section 10 of Chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses."

(5) b. *Ama ti si bil junak!*
but you be.2Sg been.M.Sg.*l*-Part hero

1. 'You are such a hero!' (admiration)
2. '(I am surprised to see that) you are a hero.' (surprise)
3. 'You a hero!' (irony or mockery)

1.2. Balkan *Sprachbund* Features in the Macedonian Nominal System

The Macedonian noun phrases and the arguments and adjuncts in which they occur have quite a number of Balkan *Sprachbund* features, of which we shall illustrate (a) expression of definiteness through postpositive definite article, (b) featuring possessiveness with clitics equivalent to the dative pronominal clitics, (c) clitic doubling, (d) prepositional case marking, and (e) location/direction merger.

1.2.1. The postpositive definite articles are attached to the noun if it is not modified and to its leftmost modifiers (though not to the modifier of a modifier) otherwise:

(6) a. *šapkata*
hat+the.F.Sg.Dist
'the hat'

b. *mnogu golemata crvena volnena šapka*
very large.F.Sg+the.F.Sg red.F.Sg woolen.F.Sg hat.F
'the very large red woolen hat'

1.2.2. If the possessor is a noun denoting close family relationship, possessive relationships are expressed with clitics equivalent to the dative pronominal clitics. The semantic features of the possessive clitics are the same as the semantic features of corresponding non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers. The use of the two types of possessives is, however, contingent on discourse factors—whenever a pronominal clitic is available, the use of the non-clitic pronominal possessive modifier is contrastive:[12]

(7) a. *Pismoto se naoǵa kaj ḱerka ti.*
letter+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at daughter 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'Your daughter has the letter.'

[12] *Cf.* section 3.2.4 of Chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

(7) b. *Pismoto* *se* *naoǵa* *kaj* *TVOJATA* *ќerka.*
letter+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at your+the.F.Sg daughter
'YOUR daughter has the letter (not mine).'

1.2.3. Most case markers of lexical nouns are lost in Macedonian, so that there are only vestiges of morphologically expressed lexical declensions.[13] Indirect object case relationships are rendered by prepositions.

(8) *Davam* *podaroci* *na* *deca.*
give.1Sg presents to children
'I am giving presents to children.'

1.2.4. All Macedonian definite direct objects and all specific indirect objects are clitic-doubled:[14]

(9) a. *Jana* *go* *vide* *deteto.*
Jana 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor child+the.N.Sg
'Jana saw the child.'

b. *Jana* *mu* *go* *dade* *pismoto*
Jana 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor letter+the.N.Sg
na *deteto/* *na* *edno* *dete.*
to child+the.N.Sg to a.N child
'Jana gave the letter to the child/to a (specific) child.'

1.2.5. The preposition *vo* 'in' can be used in both locative and directional prepositional phrases.[15]

2. Macedonian and the South Slavic Dialectal Continuum

The Balkan influence notwithstanding, Macedonian has been a part of a continuum with Serbian and Bulgarian, so that today it is not possible to draw distinct boundaries between these languages.

2.1. In the Middle Ages, the territory where Macedonian is spoken was part of the Bulgarian and Serbian realms. Koneski (2001: 178) conjectures that the close

[13] *Cf.* section 3.1 of Chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause".

[14] *Cf.* section 4 of Chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause."

[15] *Cf.* section 3.3.3 of Chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause."

contact of the Macedonian and Bulgarian dialects within the framework of the First Bulgarian Empire (9th–10th centuries) might have influenced the spread of changes such as **tj* > *št* and *dj* > *žd*, or the shift of the falling pitch to the following syllable in the eastern Macedonian dialects, while the penetration of mediaeval Serbia into Macedonian regions (13th–14th centuries) might have contributed to the spread of changes such as **tj* > *ќ*, **dj* > *ѓ*, *čr* > *cr*.[16] Serbian influence is also responsible for the changes *čr-*, *čre-* > *cr-*, *cre-* (as in *crn* 'black', *creva* 'guts').[17] The Serbian "recension" of Old Church Slavonic was actually dominant on Macedonian territory up to the 18th century.

2.2. The South Slavic dialectal continuum is also responsible for the variation of the intensity of manifestation of Balkan *Sprachbund* features.

2.2.1. The loss of morphological case intensifies as one moves southwards in the South Slavic dialectal continuum. While Serbo-Croatian has distinct nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, instrumental and vocative case forms for all nominal types,[18] in Macedonian and Bulgarian vocative case forms are the only productive oblique nominal forms. In the northern Macedonian and southeastern Serbian dialects, however, accusative case forms are regularly used as general oblique case markers.[19] As shown in (10b–c) and (11b–c), when marking relationship other than those of direct object, the northern Macedonian nouns with accusative case markers are accompanied by prepositions, as are the nouns in the southeastern Serbian dialects:

(10)	a.	*%Vide*	*gu*	*sestru*	*vu.*	NMac
		see.1/2/3Sg.Aor	3Sg.F.Acc.Cl	sister.F.Acc	3Sg.F.Dat.Cl	
		'I/you/(s)he saw her sister.'				

[16] The fact that in the area where Macedonian is spoken each of the Common Slavic sequences **tj* and **dj* has undergone two different changes indicates that the spread of these changes did not precede the division of the South Slavic linguistic territory into dialect groups that were predecessors of distinct languages.

[17] The contact with Serbian had originally taken place on a larger geographical territory, which included contemporary Albania. Koneski (2001: 178) notes that a number of phonological processes are common to the languages in that territory.

[18] The locative case is represented by prepositional phrases with nouns in the dative case, when expressing location, and by prepositional phrases with nouns in the accusative case, when expressing direction.

[19] It is noteworthy that, while in Balkan Romance, Greek and Albanian dative case morphology is most persistent, in Balkan Slavic it is the accusative case markers that are the last markers to be dispensed with.

(10) b. *%Dade vu na profesorku.*
give.1/2/3Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl to professor.F.Acc
'I/you/(s)he gave it to the professor.'

c. *%On otide kude profesorku.*
he go.3Sg.Aor at professor.F.Acc
'He went to the professor.'

(11) a. *%Nesăm videl sestru ti.* S-ESerb
not+be.1Sg.Aux.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part sister.F.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'I haven't seen your sister.'

b. *%Dado ga na ovčara.*
give.1Sg.Aor 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl to shepherd.M.Acc
'I gave it to the shepherd.'

c. *%Skaramo se săs sina mu.*
quarrel.1Pl.Aor Acc.Refl.Cl with son.M.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'We quarreled with his son.'

The fact that the general oblique case marker functions in both groups of neighboring South Slavic dialects, shows that the development of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features is gradual and the northern Macedonian and southern Serbian dialects are interim stages of the substitution of synthetic declension markers by analytic ones.

2.2.2. Clitic-doubling strategies also show gradual variation along a South-Slavic dialectal continuum. In this case we have variation not only along a vertical north-south axis, but also along a horizontal east–west axis. As one moves from north to south, along with the tightening of the distance between the clitics and the verb, the restrictions on the word classes that can be clitic-doubled are relaxed. As one moves from east to west, on the other hand, along with the gradual disappearance of the rule for non-occurrence of the clitics in clause-initial position, the restrictions on the environment for clitic-doubling are relaxed.

2.2.2.1. While in standard Serbian a doubling clitic occurs only in the environment of the invariant relativizer *što* 'what' and the deictic particles *evo* 'here' and *eno* 'there', in the southeastern Serbian dialects pronouns can be and often are clitic-doubled:

(12) a. *%Mene me je zemnja pritisnula.* S-ESerb
me.Acc 1Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Sg land pressed.F.Sg.*l*-Part
'I have to till the soil.' (lit. 'The land has pressed me.')

(12) b. *%Vikaše ni nas.*
call.3Sg.Imperf 1Pl.Acc.Cl us.Acc
'(S)he was calling us.'

2.2.2.2. In the western periphery of the southeastern Serbian dialects, indirect lexical objects are, however, as a rule clitic-doubled:[20]

(13) a. *%A mojemu mužu došlo mu* S-ESerb
and my.Dat husband.Dat come.N.Sg.*l*-Part 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
da kreči.
Subjun.Mark whitewash.3Sg
'And my husband wants to whitewash (the walls).' (lit. 'And to my husband it occurred that he should whitewash.')

b. *%Ja gi vikam ženama.*
I 3Pl.Acc.Cl say.1Sg women.Dat
'I am saying to the women.'

2.2.2.3. In the eastern periphery of the southeastern Serbian dialects, on the other hand, both direct and indirect lexical objects can be optionally clitic-doubled under the same conditions under which the Macedonian objects are doubled; direct objects are optionally clitic-doubled when definite, while indirect objects are optionally clitic-doubled when specific:

(14) a. *%Nesăm (ga) videl* SESerb
not+be.1Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
ovčara(toga).
shepherd+the.M.Sg.Acc
'I haven't seen the shepherd.'

[20] The examples are from Topolinjska (2001), who has taken them from Remetić's analysis of the dialect of Prizren (*cf.* Remetić 1996). It may be noticed that, in this dialect, the Dat case suffix, which has disappeared from most of the southeastern Serbian dialects, is also viable. This is probably due to contact with Albanian, where the Dat case is regularly morphologically expressed and most often clitic-doubled.

(14) b. *%Dala sǎm (mu) cveće* SESerb
given.F.Sg.*l*-Part be.1Sg 3Sg.M/N.Dat.Cl flowers
na šefa/ na jedno dete.
to chief.Acc to a child
'I gave flowers to the chief (namely to X, who happens to be the chief)/to a child (that I can identify).'

2.2.2.4. While in the Bulgarian standard dialect and in the eastern dialects of the language clitic-doubling is strictly dependent on discourse factors, in the western Bulgarian dialects definite direct objects and specific indirect objects are often clitic-doubled. The following examples are from a western Bulgarian dialect bordering with Macedonian:

(15) a. *%Mene nikoj ne mi nosil kitka.* WBulg
me.Acc nobody not 1Sg.Dat.Cl bring.M.Sg.*l*-Part flower
'Nobody has (ever) brought me flowers.'

b. *%Ostail go na mira Petreto.*
leave.M.Sg.*l*-Part 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl to peace.Acc Petre+the.N.Sg
'He did not bother Petre (anymore).' (lit. 'He left Petre at peace.')

2.2.2.5. In the southwesternmost Balkan Slavic dialects, i.e., at the southernmost point of the north-south axis of the South Slavic dialectal continuum, clitic-doubling is obligatory with all definite direct and all specific indirect objects. Moreover, the specificity effect in the use of the Dat clitic is petering out and bare indefinites, which can never be specific, can also be clitic-doubled:

(16) a. *Jana (mu) go dade* WMac
Jana 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
pismoto na dete.
letter+the.N.Sg to child
'Jana gave the letter to a (mere) child.'

b. *Na kuče, treva ne (mu) se dava.*
to dog grass not 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl give.3Sg
'As for dogs, one should not give them grass.'

This indicates that, in the western Macedonian dialects, the Dat clitic is actually close to becoming a mere case marker.

Chapter 4

An Outline of Macedonian Phonology

1. Vowels

1.1. Standard Macedonian has six vocalic phonemes, one of which, the mid-central vowel /ə/, appears only in a number of contexts.

The vocalic phonemic inventory is given in Table 1:

Table 1. Vocalic Phonemic Inventory of Macedonian

	front	**central**	**back**
high	i		u
mid	e	(ə)	o
low		a	
	non-labialized		**labialized**

1.2. In some dialects, /e/ and /o/ are realized as mid-open vowels—[ɛ] and [ɔ], respectively. In standardized speech, as well as in the western dialects, they are, however, pronounced higher than the mid-open vowels, but lower than the English [e] and [o]. Parallel with the variation in the pronunciation of /o/ is a variation in its labialization: the higher the pronunciation, the greater the labialization.

1.3. The phoneme /ə/ appears in many dialects as a reflex of jer or jus, or as an innovation in the environment of a lateral or a trill.[1] In the standard dialect /ə/ is used (a) in spelling, when each consonant is followed by /ə/ (b) in the pronunciation of some abbreviations[2] and (c) in a limited number of borrowings from Turkish[3]. Examples:

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[1] As pointed out by Friedman (2003: 182), under expressive stress in open syllables, /e/ may be realized almost as [æ]:

(i) *Le le!* [læ læ] 'Oh dear!'

[2] There is no regularity in the pronunciation of the abbreviations. There are abbreviations in which, instead of /ə/, /e/ may be used, as well as abbreviations in which the letters are spelled as they are spelled in the Latin alphabet. Thus, we have:

(1) a. *MVR* /məvərə/ = *Ministerstvo za vnatrešni raboti*
'Ministry of Internal Affairs'

b. *Edinburgh* /e-də-i-nə-bə-u-rə-gə-hə/

c. *səklet* /səklet/ 'worry'

1.4. In colloquial speech, in final position after a vowel, the phoneme /i/ is realized as /j/. But in careful speech it can contrast with /j/, so that we may have the following distinction:

(2) *odaj* /odaj/ 'betray.2Sg.Imper' : *odai* /odai/ 'rooms'

1.5. There are no restrictions for the distribution of the Macedonian vowels: all vowels appear to the immediate left or right of any vowel or consonant, though two equivalent vowels, as a rule, appear only at morphemic boundaries (*cf.* Savicka and Spasov 1991):[4]

(3) a. /pad # -na # -a/ 'fall.3Pl.Aor'
Root Suff Suff

b. /pe # -e/ 'sing.3Sg'
Root Suff

c. /po- # ode/ 'walk-a-bit.3Sg.Aor'
Pref Root

(i) *PDP* /pə-də-pə/ or /pe-de-pe/ = *Partija na Demokratski Prosperitet*
'Party of Democratic Prosperity'

(ii) *SDS* /es-de-es/ = *Socijal Demokratski Sojuz* 'Social Democratic Union'

Some abbreviations are borrowings and then they are usually pronounced as they are pronounced in the language in which they originated:

(iii) *MIT* /em-ai-ti/ (as in English)

(iv) *KLM* /ka-el-em/ (as in Dutch)

[3] Since in the alphabet there is no letter corresponding to the phoneme /ə/, it is rendered by the apostrophe with which vocalic /r/ is preceded (*cf.* 3.2 and 3.3 below). Note, however, that in the words of Turkish origin ə can always be replaced by *a* and the codifiers encourage the speakers to do so (*cf.* Siljanoski 1979).

[4] Exceptions are borrowings from Turkish from which the velar fricative /x/ has disappeared:

(i) *saat* < *saxat* 'watch'

(ii) *%raat* < *raxat* 'comfort'

(iii) *maala* < *maxala* 'neighborhood'

(3) d. /su- # ulav/ 'somewhat mad'
Pref Root

1.5.1. In educated speech, two equivalent vowels in a sequence are pronounced with two syllable peaks. In colloquial speech, however, one often hears a long vowel, especially if the two equivalent vowels are back.[5] Thus, we have the following alternatives:

(4) a. [padnaa] or [padna:] 'fall.3Pl.Aor'
b. [poode] or [po:de] 'walk-a-bit.3Sg.Aor'

Since there is no meaningful contrast between the two pronunciations, length is not treated as a phonemic feature of the Macedonian vocalic system (*cf.* Savicka and Spasov 1991: 51).

1.5.2. Two vowels in a sequence occur without restriction, though sequences of two front vowels, whether equivalent or not, as well as sequences of a front and a back vowel, are in many dialects broken by the glide [j].[6] Thus we have:

(5)	Standard Macedonian		Dialectal Macedonian	
a_1	[pee]	a_2	%[peje]	'sing.3Sg'
b_1	[mumii]	b_2	%[mumiji]	'mummies'
c_1	[bea]	c_2	%[beja]	'were'
d_1	[znae]	d_2	%[znaje]	'know.3Sg'

1.5.3. Sequences of three vowels, as a rule, do not occur,[7] though, if the presence of the glide /j/ in the sequence of two vowels is treated as epenthetical (i.e., as subsequently added), the sequence VVjV can be treated as a sequence of three vowels:

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[5] At the morphemic boundary between a prefix and a base, there is always a juncture (*cf.* Savicka and Spasov 1991: 50).

[6] The sequence *ia* is, as a rule, broken by /j/ (which always appears in writing):

(i) /Marija/ 'Maria'
(ii) /tendencija/ 'tendency'
(iii) /socijalizam/ 'socialism'
(iv) /otvorija/ 'open.3Pl.Aor'

Also, in both phonology and orthography, /j/ is, as a rule present between two vowels preceded by another vowel.

[7] There are some exceptions. E.g., :

(i) /maoizam/ 'Maoism'

(6) a. /broeja/ 'count.3Pl.Imperf'
b. /ispeaja/ 'sing.3Pl.Aor'
c. /foaje/ 'vestibule'

1.6. Unstressed vowels are not reduced, although they are slightly laxed and shortened, especially post-tonically, and, in colloquial speech, can be devoiced word- or phrase-finally.

2. Consonants

2.1. Standard Macedonian has 26 consonantal phonemes, 18 of which occur in voiced–voiceless pairs.

2.1.1. The consonantal phonemic inventory is given in Table 2:

Table 2. The Consonantal Phonemic Inventory of Macedonian

Manner of articulation		**Place of articulation**						
		bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	alveo-palatal	palatal	velar
stop	voiced	b		d			g'	g
	voiceless	p		t			k'	k
fricative	voiced		v	z		ʒ		
	voiceless		f	s		ʃ		x
affricate	voiced			dz		dʒ		
	voiceless			ts		tʃ		
glide						j		
lateral				ɫ	l			
nasal		m		n			ɲ	
trill					r			

2.2. The opposition voiced: voiceless is not significant at the end of the word, where only voiceless consonants appear, since voiced consonants are devoiced in final position. Thus, words which at a morphemic boundary have a voiced consonant, at the end of the word appear with their unvoiced counterparts:

(7) a_1 /zab # -ot/ 'the tooth'
root Suff

(7) a_2 /zap/ 'tooth'

b_1 /pad # -ne/ 'fall.3Sg.Pf.Pres'
fall Suff

b_2 /pat/ 'fall.Noun'

2.3. Neighboring distinctively voiced or unvoiced consonants are assimilated with regard to voicing, the assimilation being predominately regressive.[8] Thus, we have the following contrast:

(8) a_1 /zabeleʃka/ 'remark.Noun'

a_2 /zabeleʒuva/ 'notice.3Sg.Impf.Pres'

b_1 /sredba/ 'meeting'

b_2 /sretne/ 'meet.3Sg.Pf.Pres'

c_1 /lidʒba/ 'beauty'

c_2 /litʃen/ 'handsome.M.Sg'

2.3.1. When /v/ is preceded by the fricatives /s/ or /ʃ/ we actually have progressive, rather than regressive assimilation. Since educated speakers tend to avoid the progressive assimilation, we are faced with alternatives such as those in (9b).[9]

---

[8] Assimilation occurs over a morpheme and word boundary, as well. Compare the following pairs:

(i') /ridot/ 'the hill'
hill+the.M.Sg

(i") /rit # tʃe/ 'hillock'
hill Dim.Suff

(ii') /mlad ## graʃok/ 'new peas'
young pea

(ii") /mlat ## krompir/ 'new potatoes'
young potato

(iii') /jas ## sum ## ovde/ 'I am here'
I be.1Sg here

(iii") /jaz ## da ## dojdam/ '((s)he said that) I should come'
I Subjun.Mark come.1Sg.Pf.Pres

Unvoiced consonants occurring before non-distinctively voiced consonants, are, however, not assimilated:

(iv) /sretne/ 'enconter.3Sg.Pf.Pres'

[9] As pointed out by Savicka and Spasov (1991: 96), in the case of /v/ and /f/, the voiced: unvoiced distinction is probably accompanied by additional distinctive features. Note that in many rural dialects there is no phonemic distinction between /v/ and /f/; a voiced labio-dental

(9)	a_1	/kvasec/			'yeast'
	a_2	/ʒetva/			'harvest'
	b_1	/svadba/	or	%/sfadba/	'wedding'
	b_2	/svoj/	or	%/sfoj/	'(one's) own'

2.4. There is inter-dialectal variation in the pronunciation of the alveo-palatal stops /g'/ and /k'/. Thus, in the Ohrid dialect we have dental-alveolar /t'/ and /d'/ (*cf.* 10a), while in the Prilep dialect we have a complete merger with /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ (*cf.* 10b):

(10)	a_1	%/kut'a/	a_2	%/kutʃa/	'house'
	b_1	%/t'umur/	b_2	%/tʃumur/	'coal'

2.5. The velars /k/, /g/, /x/ are alveolarized before front vowels, but in the standard dialect there are still distinctions between the velar stops /k/ and /g/ and the alveo-palatal stops /k'/ and /g'/:[10]

(11)	a_1	/kuki/	'hooks'	a_2	/kuk'i/	'houses'
	b_1	/lagi/	'lies'	b_2	/lag'i/	'boats'

---

fricative occurs before vowels and voiced consonants, while an unvoiced one occurs before unvoiced consonants. Thus, for *furna* 'bakery' and *fustan* 'dress', instead of the standard pronunciation given in (i') and (ii'), in these dialects we have the pronunciation given in (i") and (ii"), respectively:

(i')	/furna/	(i")	%/vurna/	'bakery'
(ii')	/fustan/	(ii")	%/vustan/	'dress'

[10] Note that the alveo-palatal stops /k'/ and /g'/ are, as a rule, followed by consonants only at morpheme boundaries:

(i)	/nok' # -va/	'this night'
	Root Suff	
(ii)	/srek' # -ka/	'lottery ticket'
	Root Suff	

Savicka and Spasov (1991: 91) make a distinction between cases such as (i), with a juncture between the two morphemes and cases such as (ii), where there is no juncture. They argue that, in the latter cases, /k'/ and /g'/ appear before consonants mostly in foreign words (Note that *srek'ka* is a borrowing from Serbo-Croatian). The native words in which /k'/ or /g'/ are followed by a consonant, often alternate with words in which the alveo-palatal stops do not appear, and we have oppositions such as:

(iii')	/svek'nik/	(iii")	%/sveʃnik/	'candlestick'

2.6. The velar fricative /x/ does not occur natively in the west-central dialects on which the standard dialect is based. In standard Macedonian /x/ is used in (a) Church Slavonicisms; (b) foreign words; (c) newly introduced words; (d) toponyms:[11]

(12)	a.	/dux/	'spirit'
	b.	/xibrit/	'hybrid'
	c.	/isxot/	'outcome'
	d.	/oxrit/	'Ohrid'

2.7. Whereas the alveolar lateral /l/ occurs both before front and before back vowels, its dental counterpart /ł/ occurs only before back vowels. Thus, while the singular nouns in (13) have distinct laterals, their plural counterparts do not:

(13)	a_1	/beła/	'white.F.Sg'	a_2	/beli/	'white.Pl'
	b_1	/bela/	'blunder'	b_2	/beli/	'blunders'

2.8. The dental voiced affricate /dz/ is characteristic for the southwestern dialects, while in the standard dialect it occurs in a limited number of words and can be (though not with the approval of the codifiers) replaced by /z/:[12]

(14)	a.	[dzvezda]	or	[zvezda]	'star'
	b.	[soldza]	or	[solza]	'tear'
	c.	[dzver]	or	[zver]	'animal'

---

[11] In some cases, /x/ is used in order to disambiguate words which otherwise would have analogous pronunciation. For example:

(i) /xrana/ 'food'

(ii) /rana/ 'wound'

Note, however, that in the Ohrid southwestern dialect /x/ is used in many native words in which, in the standard dialect, it has been replaced by /v/. Thus, for *stivna* 'peter out.3Sg.Aor' and *nivna* 'their.F.Sg', instead of the standard pronunciation given in (iii') and (iv'), in this dialect we have the pronunciation given in (iii") and (iv"), respectively

(iii')	/stivna/	(iii")	%/stixna/	'peter out.3Sg.Aor'
(iv')	/nivna/	(iv")	%/nixna/	'their.F.Sg'

[12] The replacement is not reciprocal. Thus, we have:

(i')	[zvuk]	but not	(i")	*[dzvuk]	'sound'
(ii)	[zvanje]	but not	(ii")	*[dzvanje]	'title'

2.9. The alveo-palatal phonemes /ʒ/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ are more palatal than alveolar. As a consequence of the palatalization, the dental stops /d/ and /t/ and the dental fricatives /z/ and /s/, when occurring next to /ʒ/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/ or /tʃ/, become affricates:

(15)	a.	/ot # ʃeta/	→	/otʃ # ʃeta/	'walk (a distance).
		Pref walk			3Sg.Pf.Pres'
	b.	/iz # dʒvaka/	→	/iʒ # dʒvaka/	'chew-up
		Pref munch			3Sg.Pf.Pres'
	c.	/ras- # tʃisti/	→	/raʃ # tʃisti/	'clean-up
		Pref clean			Sg.Pf.Pres'

2.10. The phoneme /dʒ/ often occurs (a) in loans or (b) as affrication of etymological /ʒ/, generally for expressive effect:

(16)	a_1	/dʒudʒe/		'dwarf'
	a_2	/budʒet/		'budget'
	b_1	/ʒvaka/ or	/dʒvaka/	'chew.3Sg/chewing gum'
	b_2	/ʒbara/ or	/dʒbara/	'rummage'
	b_3	/ʒgan/ or	/dʒgan/	'mob'

2.11. The trill and the laterals have vocalic counterparts.[13] Whereas the vocalic /r/ appears (a) between two consonants, (b) between a word or morpheme boundary (to its left) and a consonant (to its right), and (c) (in a few foreign and onomatopoeic words) between a consonant (to its left) and a word boundary (to its right), the vocalic /ɫ/ and /l/ appear only between a consonant and a word or morpheme boundary:

(17)	a_1	/vɾba/	'willow'
	a_2	/kɾst/	'cross'
	b_1	/ɾg'a/	'rust'
	b_2	/ɾt/	'cape'
	b_3	/za- # ɾʒa/	'began to growl'
		Pref growl.3Sg.Aor	

[13] In non-standard speech (usually influenced by a foreign language) all the sonants (i.e., not only the trill and the laterals, but also the nasals) can have vocalic counterparts:

(i) %[ɲutɳ] 'Newton'

(ii) %[maoizm] 'Maoism'

(17) c_1 /tembɾ/ 'timbre'
c_2 /pɾ/ (sound of birds taking flight)

(18) a. /spektakɬ/ 'spectacle'
b. /kremļ/ 'Kremlin'
c. /kremļ # -ski/ 'Kremlin.Adj '
Kremalj Suff

2.12. In colloquial speech, the dental stops /t/ and /d/ are dropped if they occur in final position, to the immediate right of the fricatives /s/, /ʃ/, /z/ or /ʒ/. Thus, we have the following contrasts:

(19) a_1 /gros/ 'a bunch of grapes'
a_2 /grozdova/ 'grape.F.Sg.Adj' (as in grape brandy)
b_1 /doʃ/ 'rain'
b_2 /doʒdeliv/ 'rainy'

2.13. Geminate consonants (with a juncture in between) occur only at morpheme boundary.[14]

(20) a. *prolet # ta* 'the spring'
b. *devet # te* 'the nine'
c. *pet # ti* 'fifth'
d. *sedum # mina* 'group of seven people'

(21) a_1 *od # daleku* 'from afar'
a_2 *ot # tamu* 'from there'

---

[14] Geminates are eliminated if preceded or followed by another consonant. Thus, we have geminates in (i), where the prefix *bez-* is added to the base *zaben*, but not in (ii), where the same prefix is added to the base *značaen*:

(i) *bezzaben* 'without teeth/toothless'
(ii) *beznačaen* 'without importance/unimportant'

Sometimes, a geminate can be eliminated when not preceded or followed by a consonant. Thus, in both (iii) and (iv) the phonology of the prefix is /ras/ and the base begins with the consonant /s/, but whereas in (iii) we have a geminate, in (iv) we do not:

(iii) *rassali* 'inflame (the skin).3Sg.Aor'
(iv) *raseče* 'chop-up.3Sg.Aor'

(21) b. *naj #jasen* 'clearest/brightest'

c. *bes # solzen* 'tearless'

d. *pot # tik* 'stimulus'

2.14. Some differences in the occurrence of geminates eliminate homonymy:

(22) a_1 *se oddade* '(s)he devoted herself/himself'

a_2 *se odade* '(s)he gave herself/himself away'

b_1 *se oddolži* '(s)he paid her/his debt'

b_2 *se odolži* 'it got prolonged'

3. Relationship between Phonology and Orthography

3.1. The Macedonian alphabet is an adaptation of the Serbian type of Cyrillic alphabet. With some exceptions, most of them listed below, each letter corresponds to a single phoneme. Table 3 gives the 31 letters of the Macedonian alphabet paired with their transcription with the (Croatian/Serbian) Latin alphabet and their most usual phonological values:

Table 3. Standard Macedonian Orthography

Macedonian alphabet	Latin transcr.	phonol. repres.	Macedonian alphabet	Latin transcr.	phonol. repres.
А, а (*А, а*)	A, a	/a/	М, м (*М, м*)	M, m	/m/
Б, б (*Б, б*)	B, b	/b/	Н, н (*Н, н*)	N, n	/n/
В, в (*В, в*)	V, v	/v/	Њ, њ (*Њ, њ*)	Nj, nj	/ɲ/
Г, г (*Г, ѓ*)	G, g	/g/	О, о (*О, о*)	O, o	/o/
Д, д (*Д, ѳ*)	D, d	/d/	П, п (*П, ѹ*)	P, p	/p/
Ѓ, ѓ (*Ѓ, ѓ*)	G', ǵ	/g'/	Р, р (*Р, р*)	R, r	/r/, /ɾ/
Е, е (*Е, е*)	E, e	/e/	С, с (*С, с*)	S, s	/s/
Ж, ж (*Ж, жс*)	Ž, ž	/ʒ/	Т, т (*Т, ѿ*)	T, t	/t/
З, з (*З, з*)	Z, z	/z/	Ќ, ќ (*Ќ, ќ*)	Ḱ, ḱ	/k'/
S, s (*S, s*)	Dz, dz	/dz/	У, у (*У, у*)	U, u	/u/
И, и (*И, и*)	I, i	/i/	Ф, ф (*Ф, ф*)	F, f	/f/
Ј, ј (*Ј, ј*)	J, j	/j/	Х, х (*Х, х*)	X, x	/x/
К, к (*К, к*)	K, k	/k/	Ц, ц (*Ц, ц*)	C, c	/ts/
Л, л (*Л, л*)	L, l	/ɬ/, /l'/, /l̪/	Ч, ч (*Ч, ч*)	Č, č	/tʃ/
Љ, љ (*Љ, љ*)	Lj, lj	/l'/, /ʎ/	Џ, џ (*Џ, џ*)	Dž, dž	/dʒ/
			Ш, ш (*Ш, ш*)	Š, š	/ʃ/

3.2. When word-initial, the vocalic trill /ɽ/, which is represented by the letter *p*, is preceded by an apostrophe:[15]

(23) a. *'рѓа* /ɽg'a/ 'rust'
b. *'ржење* /ɽʒɛɲe/ 'growling'

3.3. The vowels of a few function words carry the grave accent in order to be distinguished from homophonic function words:

(24)	a_1	*сѐ*	/se/	'everything'	but	a_2	*се*	/se/	'are.3Sg'
					and	a_3	*се*	/se/	'Acc.Refl.Cl'
	b_1	*нѐ*	/ne/	'1Pl.Acc.Cl'	but	b_2	*не*	/ne/	'not'
	c_1	*ѝ*	/i/	'3Sg.F.Dat.Cl'	but	c_2	*и*	/i/	'and'

3.4. The letter *л* represents the dental lateral /ɬ/, in word final position or when followed by back vowels, and the alveolar lateral /l'/, when followed by front vowels or *j*:[16]

(25) a. *бел* /beɬ/ 'white.M.Sg'
b. *бела* /beɬa/ 'white.M.Sg'
c. *белеѓ* /bel'eg/ 'mark.Noun'
d. *по̄лјана* /pol'jana/ 'field/clearing'

3.5. The letter *љ*, in the Macedonian standard represents the alveolar lateral /l'/.[17] In the dialect of the capital, however, instead of an alveolar lateral, we have a palatal one. Due to the influence of that dialect, as well as because in Serbian the letter *љ* represents a palatal lateral, the Macedonian letter *љ* may be pronounced as a palatal lateral. Moreover, since in the Latin alphabet it is rendered by the sequence *lj*, the pronunciation of the letter *љ* is sometimes mixed up with the pronunciation of that sequence. So, we have the following alternative spellings:

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[15] The apostrophe is also used to mark schwa in dialectal Macedonian, as well as in the few words in standard Macedonian that have it. Examples:

(i) *%к'смеѣ̄* /kəsmet/ 'luck'
(ii) *%с'клеѣ̄* /səklet/ 'worry'

[16] Between a consonant (to its left) and a word or morpheme boundary (to its right) *л* is intervocalic (*cf.* 2.11 above).

[17] It is, as a rule, used before back vowels. Before front vowels, the alveolar lateral /l'/ is represented by *л*.

(26) a. *Лилјана* /l'iljana/
b. *Лиљана* /l'iljana/
c. *Лиљана* /l'iʎana/

3.6. Devoiced consonants in word-final position are rendered by their voiced counterparts:

(27) a. *заб* /zap/ 'tooth'
b. *зад* /zat/ 'behind'

3.7. Regressive assimilation at morphemic boundary is registered in the spelling,[18] except when the assimilated consonant is (a) labio-dental fricative,[19] (b) dental stop in a numeral, (c) consonant to the immediate left of the feminine definite article or (d) part of a new geminate:

(28)	a.	*вт̄ор*	/ftor/	'second'
	b.	*десет̄г̄одишен*	/desedgodiʃen/	'ten-year old'
	c.	*челад̄т̄а* children+the.F.Sg	/tʃelatta/	'the children'
	d.	*п̄редци*	/prettsi/	'ancestors'

3.8. Different words in which the phoneme /j/ appears in the same or similar environments are spelled differently.[20] Thus, we have:

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[18] At word boundary, the original spelling is kept:

(i) *Јас* /jas/ 'I'

(ii) *Треба јас да г̄о земам.* /treba ## jaz ## da ## go ## zemam/
should.3Sg I Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl take.1Sg
'It is me who should take it'

[19] In the first person plural imperfect tense 'be' form, *в* is pronounced as /f/, by analogy with the first singular and second plural imperfect tense 'be' forms:

(i) *бев* /bef/ 'was.1Sg'
(ii) *бевт̄е* /befte/ 'were.2Pl'
(iii) *бевме* /befme/ 'were.1Pl'

[20] In educated speech the phoneme /j/ tends to be and often is very weak before /i/ and /e/. In native words, final /j/ disappears when a suffix beginning with /i/ or /e/ is to its right and we have the following oppositions:

(i') /kraj/ 'region' (i'') /kraevi/ 'regions' (i''') /kraiʃta/ 'regions.Collect.Pl'

(29) a_1 *седеа* 'sit.3Sg.Imperf' but a_2 *броеја* 'count.3Sg.Imperf'

4. Morphophonemic Alternations[21]

4.1. Velar ~ Alveo-Palatal Alternations: /k/~/tʃ/, /g/~/ʒ/, /x/~/ʃ/[22]

4.1.1. Most frequent and most productive velar ~ alveo-palatal alternations are the ones actualized through de-nominal and de-adjectival derivations of nouns, adjectives, and verbs:

(30)	a.	/lik/	'figure, image' :	a_1	/litʃnost/	'person'
				a_2	/litʃen/	'personable/personal'
				a_3	/litʃi/	'resemble'
	b.	/laga/	'lie.Noun' :	b_1	/laʒen/	'false'
				b_2	/laʒe/	'lie.3Sg.Pres'
				b_3	/laʒira/	'fix a match'
	c.	/blagost/	'sweetness' :	c_1	/blaʒen/	'blissful'
				c_2	/blaʒi/	'feel sweet.3Sg.Pres'
	d.	%/grex/ > /gref/	'sin' :	d_1	/greʃka/	'mistake'
				d_2	/greʃen/	'sinful'
				d_4	/pogreʃen/	'wrong'

4.1.2. Productive velar ~ palatal alternations are also actuated through the derivation of vocative nominal forms:

(31)	a_1	/striko/ 'uncle'	a_2	/stritʃe/ 'uncle.Voc'
	b_1	*/starek/ > /starets/ 'old man'	b_2	/startʃe/ 'old man.Voc'
	c_1	/bogovi/ 'gods'	c_2	/boʒe/ 'God.Voc'
	d_1	/monax/ 'monk'	d_2	/monaʃe/ 'monk.Voc'

4.1.3. There are velar ~ palatal alternations occurring between the singular and plural forms of two nouns, which are also actuated in the derivation of diminutives:[23]

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[21] Many of the alternations are listed in Friedman (2003: 188–90).

[22] The alveo-palatal phoneme /ʃ/ also alternates with a bilabial phoneme which etymologically relates to /x/, while the alveo-palatal phoneme /tʃ/ also alternates with a dental phoneme which etymologically relates to /k/.

(32) a. /oko/ 'eye' : a_1 /otʃi/ 'eyes'
a_2 /otʃe/ 'eye.Dim'

b. %/uxo/ > /uvo/ 'ear' : b_1 /uʃi/ 'ears'
b_2 /uʃe/ 'ear.Dim'

4.1.4. Velar ≈ palatal alternations also occur between verb forms, but there they are non-productive:

(33) a_1 /rekof/ 'say.1Sg.Aor' : a_2 /retʃe/ 'say.2/3Sg.Aor'

b_1 /potstriguva / 'trim.3Sg. Impf.Pres' : b_2 /potstriʒe/ 'trim.3Sg. Pf.Pres'

4.2. Velar ≈ Dental Alternations: /k/≈/ts/, /g/≈/z/, /x/≈/s/

4.2.1. Productive velar ≈ dental alternations occur between the singular and plural forms of nouns:[24]

(34) a_1 /rudnik/ 'mine' a_2 /rudnitsi/ 'mines'

b_1 /parking/ 'parking space' b_2 /parkinzi/ 'parking spaces'

c_1 /uspex/ 'success' c_3 /uspesi/ 'success.Pl'

4.2.2. Two feminine plurals (originally duals) are involved in the velar ≈ dental alternation:

(35) a_1 /raka/ 'hand' a_2 /ratse/ 'hands'

b_1 /noga/ 'leg' b_2 /noze/ 'legs'

4.2.3. With verbs, this alternation occurs only in two stems—/lez/ and /molz/:

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[23] It is noteworthy that the derived diminutive form with an alveo-palatal phoneme tends to replace the original form with a velar phoneme. Thus, in colloquial speech, *uše* is used instead of *uxo*.

[24] Nouns ending in /a/, as a rule, do not have this alternation. There is only one exception:

(i') /vladika/ 'bishop' (ii') /vladitsi/ 'bishops'

Among the nouns ending in a bilabial consonant which has evolved from /x/, there are only two cases of plurals ending in /si/:

(ii) /vlaf/ 'Vlah, Aromanian' (ii') /vlasi/ 'Vlahs, Aromanians'

(iii) /siromaf/ 'pauper' (iii') /siromasi/ 'paupers'

(36)	a_1	/izlegof/	'exit.1Sg.Aor'	a_2	/izleze/	'exit.2/3Sg.Aor'
	b_1	/vlegof/	'enter.1Sg.Aor'	b_2	/vleze/	'enter.2/3Sg.Aor'
	c_1	/izmolgof/	'milk.1Sg.Aor'	c_2	/izmolze/	'milk.2/3Sg.Aor'

4.3. Dental or Velar ~ Palatal or Alveolar Alternations: /t, k/ ~ /k'/, /d, g/ ~ /g'/, /ł/ ~ /l/, /n/ ~ /ɲ/, /st/ ~ /ʃt/[25]

4.3.1. The dental or velar ~ palatal or alveolar alternations are most frequent with verbs:

(37)	a_1	/fati/ 'catch.2/3Sg.Aor'	:	a_2	/fak'a/ 'catch.3Sg.Pres'
	b.	/rodi/ 'give birth.2/3Sg.Aor'	:	b_2	/rag'a/ 'give birth.3Sg.Pres'
	c.	/gosti/ 'treat.3Sg.Pf.Pres'	:	c_2	/goʃtava/ 'treat.3Sg.Pres'

4.3.2. With nouns, these alternations are due to the collective suffixes /je/ and /ja/:[26]

(38)	a_1	/rabota/ 'work'	:	a_2	/rabok'e/	'work.Collect.Pl'
	b_1	/livada/ 'meadow'	:	b_2	/livag'e/	'meadow.Collect.Pl'
	c_1	/godina/ 'year'	:	c_2	/godinje/	'year.Collect.Pl'

4.4. Alternation of Various Consonants with /f/

4.4.1. The consonants /g/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/ and the consonant clusters /st/, /sk/, /ʃk/, /zd/, /ʒd/ alternate with /f/, spelled as *v*, when the diminutive suffix /tʃe/ is added to a noun. Examples:[27]

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[25] With the replacement of the imperfectivizing suffix /-(j)ava/ by the suffix /-uva/ many alternations of this type have been lost. Thus, not so long ago the following alternations were active:

(i')	/zadovoli/	: (i")	%/zadovoljava/	'satisfy.3Sg.Pf.Pres'
(ii')	/promeni/	: (ii")	%/menjava/	'change.3Sg.Pf.Pres'

In present-day Macedonian, the imperfective forms of /zadovoli/ and /promeni/ are /zadovoluva/ and /menuva/, respectively. The imperfective form /goʃtava/ is still in use because of the meaningful contrast with /gostuva/ 'is a guest artist/performer'.

[26] Some collective plurals have alternative forms:

(i)	/prat/ 'twig'	:	(i')	/prak'e/	or	(i")	/pratje/	'twig.Collect.Pl'
(ii)	/rit/ 'hill'	:	(ii')	/rig'e/	or	(ii")	/ridje/	'hill.Collect.Pl'

The collective suffixes are discussed in section 3.1.3 of Chapter 6, entitled "Agreement Categories Operating in the Nominal Phrase".

(39)	a_1	/noga/	'leg'	:	a_2	/noftʃe/ 'leg.Dim'
	b_1	/vos/	'train'	:	b_2	/voftʃe/ 'train.Dim'
	b_3	/vozovi/	'trains'			
	c_1	/noʃ/	'knife'	:	/noftʃe/ 'knife.Dim'	
	c_2	/noʒovi/	'knives'			
	d_1	/lis/	'leaf'	:	/liftʃe/ 'leaf.Dim'	
	d_2	/listovi/	'leaves'			
	e.	/guska/	'goose' :		/guftʃe/ 'goose.Dim'	
	f.	/voʃka/	'louse'	:	/voftʃe/ 'louse.Dim'	
	g.	/grozd/	'bunch of grapes'	:	/groftʃe/ 'bunch of grapes.Dim'	
	h.	/gluʒd/	'ankle'	:	/gluftʃe/ 'anlkle.Dim'	

4.5. Alternation /dʒ/ ≈ /tʃ/

4.5.1. Alternation /dʒ/ ≈ /tʃ/ occurs as a result of progressive devoicing of the initial consonant of the suffix /dʒija/ after an unvoiced consonant:[28]

(40) /sladolet/ 'ice-cream' + /dʒija/ → /sladolettʃija/ 'ice-cream seller'

4.6. Isolated Consonantal Alternations

(41)	a_1	/dete/	'child'	a_2	/detsa/	'children'
	b_1	/turtʃin/	'Turk'	b_2	/turtsi/	'Turks'
	c_1	/pes/	'dog'	c_2	/ptsi/	'dogs'

4.7. Vowel ≈ Zero Alternations

4.7.1. Vowel ≈ zero alternations can occur (a) between the indefinite singular masculine form and all other forms of adjectives, (b) between singular and plural

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[27] /glastʃe/ is, however, the prescribed diminutive for /glas/ 'voice', so as to avoid homonymy with /glaftʃe/, the diminutive from /glava/ 'head'. There are cases when the consonant to the left of the suffix can be dropped:

(i) /ʃamija/ 'scarf' : (i') /ʃamiftʃe/ or (i") /ʃamitʃe/ 'scarf.Dim'

[28] The morphophonemic alternation of /dʒija/ and /tʃija/ is automatic in Turkish—the language from which this suffix was borrowed.

forms of nouns, (c) between general and vocative forms of nouns, as well as (d) between some classes of verb forms.[29]

4.7.1.1. In adjectival vowel ~ zero alternations the suffixes /en/ and /ok/ are usually involved.[30]

(42) a. /nizok/ : /niska/ : /nisko/ : /niski/ :
short.M.Sg short.F.Sg short.N.Sg short.Pl
/niskiot/
short+the.M.Sg

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[29] High vowels do not, as a rule, participate in this alternation. However, /ogin/, one of the two variants of the noun denoting 'fire', behaves exceptionally. Thus, we have:

(i) /ogin/ 'fire' : (i') /oginot/ 'the fire' : (i'') /ognovi/ 'fires'
fire+the.M.Sg

(ii) /ogan/ 'fire' : (ii') /ognot/ 'the fire' : (ii'') /ognovi/ 'fires'
fire+the.M.Sg

[30] There are adjectives with these suffixes in which vowel ~ zero alternations do not occur (e.g., (i)), as well as adjectives with same phonology but different meanings that have different sets of forms (e.g., (ii–ii')):

(i) /visok/ : /visoka/ : /visoko/ : /visoki/ :
tall/high.M.Sg tall/high.F.Sg tall/high.N.Sg tall/high.Pl
/visokiot/
tall/high+the.M.Sg

(ii') /dɾven/ : /dɾvena/ : /dɾveno/ : /dɾveni/ :
wooden.M.Sg wooden.F.Sg wooden.N.Sg wooden.Pl
/dɾveniot/
wooden+the.M.Sg
as in: *drvena* *masa*
wooden.F.Sg table
'wooden table'

(ii'') /dɾven/ : /dɾvna/ : /dɾvno/ : /dɾvni/ :
(of) wood.M.Sg (of) wood.F.Sg (of) wood.N.Sg (of) wood.Pl
/dɾvniot/
(of) wood+the.M.Sg
as in: *drvna* *industrija*
(of) wood.F.Sg industry
'wood industry'

Other phonological and phonotactic rules also apply. Thus, in (42c) the dental consonant /t/ is dropped, while in (42d) the vowel /e/ is replaced by the glide /j/.

(42) b. /tesen/ : /tesna/ : /tesno/ : /tesni/ :
narrow.M.Sg narrow.F.Sg narrow.N.Sg narrow.Pl
/tesniot/
narrow+the.M.Sg

c. /mesten/ : /mesna/ : /mesno/ : /mesni/ :
local.M.Sg local.F.Sg local.N.Sg local.Pl
/mesniot/
local+the.M.Sg

d. /pristoen/ : /pristojna/ : /pristojno/ : /pristojni/ :
polite.M.Sg polite.F.Sg polite.N.Sg polite.Pl
/pristojniot/
polite+the.M.Sg

4.7.1.2. With nouns, vowel ≈ zero alternations usually apply if they end in /en/, /el/, /ol/, /ot/, or /ok/. Examples:[31]

(43) a_1 /den/ 'day' : a_2 /dni/ 'days'
b_1 /plamen/ 'flame' : b_2 /plamni/ 'flames'
c_1 /jazel/ 'knot' : d_2 /jazli/ 'knots'
d_1 /sokol/ 'falcon' : d_2 /sokoli/ 'falcons'
e_1 /nokot/ '(finger/toe) nail' : e_2 /nokti/ '(finger/toe) nails'
f_1 /predok/ 'ancestor' : f_2 /pretsi/ 'ancestors'

4.7.1.3. In verbs, vowel ≈ zero alternations are limited. They occur (a) between some present and aorist stems, the latter of which are usually used in building perfective forms and (b) in *l*-participles. Examples:

(44) a_1 /dere/ 'strip-off' 3Sg.Impf.Pres' : a_2 /odra/ 'strip off. 2/3Sg.Aor'

[31] Plurals such as those in (43) may in some nouns alternate with other plural forms or be replaced by them:

(i) /den/ 'day' : (i') /dni/ or /denovi/ 'days'
(ii) /kamen/ 'stone' : (ii') */kamni/ replaced by /kamenja/ 'stones'

(44) b_1 /umira/ 'die.3Sg.Impf.Pres' : b_2 /umre/ 'die.2/3Sg.Aor'

c_1 /vlegol/ 'entered.M.Sg.*l*-Part' : c_2 /vlegla/ 'entered.F.Sg.*l*-Part' :

c_3 /vleglo/ 'entered.N.Sg.*l*-Part' : c_4 /vlegle/ 'entered.Pl.*l*-Part'

4.8. Etymological Length Alternations

4.8.1. Remnants of etymological length alternations occur in the derivation of some imperfective verb forms from their perfective counterparts. Thus, the alteration /o/ ~ /a/ in (45) is a remnant of the alteration /o/ ~ /o:/:

(45) a_1 /rodi/ 'give birth' 3Sg.Pf.Pres' : a_2 /rag'a/ 'give-birth' 3Sg.Impf.Pres'

5. Prosody

5.1. Standard Macedonian and the Western Macedonian Dialects Have Fixed Antepenultimate Stress: [32]

(46) a. *PROizvod* 'product'

b. *proIZvede* 'produce.3Sg.Aor'

c. *proizVEduva* 'produce.3Sg.Impf.Pres'

d. *proizveDUvanje* 'producing.Noun'

5.1.1. With disyllabic words, the stress falls on the first syllable:

(47) a. *VOdi* 'lead.3Sg.Impf.Pres'

b. *Odi* 'go.3Sg.Impf.Pres'

5.1.2. In words of foreign origin, the stress may or has to fall on the final syllable:

(48) a_1 *BIlet* or a_2 *biLET* 'ticket'

b_1 *TEtratka* or b_2 *teTRATka* 'notebook'

c_1 *EPten* or c_2 *epTEN* 'entirely'

[32] There is considerable variation in the southeastern dialects and in colloquial speech.

(49)	a_1	*stuDENT*	but not	a_2	**STUdent*	'student'
	b_1	*takSIST*	but not	b_2	**TAKsist*	'taxi driver'
	c.	*fudbaLER*	but not	c_2	**FUDbaler*	'football player'

5.1.3. Present participles, which in traditional Macedonian grammars are referred to as "verbal adverbs" (*cf.* Koneski 1967: 446) can, in the standard dialect, be stressed on the antepenultimate or the penultimate syllable, depending on whether the semivowel *j* is treated as a vowel or as a consonant:

(50)	a_1	*Odejќi*	or	a_2	*oDEjќi*	'going'
	b_1	*GLEdajќi*	or	b_2	*gleDAjќi*	'looking'
	c_1	*piŠUvajќi*	or	c_2	*pišuVAjќi*	'writing'

5.2. In many dialects, there are differences in vowel length.

5.2.1. In the southwestern dialects there are a number of adverbs with long vowels that are actually established as legitimate phonemes, whose occurrence is not limited to positions where they can be related to sequences of vowels, resulting from intervocalic consonant deletion.[33] These adverbs even enter into minimal pair relationship with words in which the stress falls in the antepenultimate syllable:

(51)	a_1	%/zi'ma:va/	'during this winter'	a_2	/'zimava/	'this winter'
	b_1	%/le'to:vo/	'during this summer'	b_2	/'letovo/	'this summer'
	c_1	%/nede'la:va/	'during this week'	c_2	/ne'delava/	'this week'
	d_1	%/poma'lo:to/	'the smaller one'	d_2	/po'maloto/	'the smaller'

5.2.2. In many dialects, length developed through the contraction of two same vowels (*cf.* Vidioeski 2005: 149):[34]

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[33] These adverbs have been "admitted" into the standard dialect. They are, however, non-existent in the speech of the intellectuals of the capital if they are not speakers of a southwestern dialect. I interviewed five Ph.D. or M.A. holders (aged 35 to 50) who obtained their degrees from the Department of Macedonian of the University of Skopje, and none of them used these adverbs or was aware of their existence.

[34] At the juncture of derivational morphemes contraction does not occur:

(i) /pre'esapi/ 'calculate'

(ii) /'poodi/ 'walk a little'

(52) a. /zmii/ > %/zmi:/ 'snake.Pl'
b. /nevesta/ > %/neesta/ > %/ne:sta/ 'bride'
c. /snaxa/ > %/snaa/ > %/sna:/ 'sister-in-law'

5.2.3. In the Lower Vardar southeastern dialects, vowel sequences in final position are, as a rule, subject to assimilation and contraction (*cf.* Vidoeski 2005: 148):

(53) a. /bae/ > %/ba:/ 'perform magic'
b. %/nie/ > %/ni:/ 'we'

5.2.4. In the southeastern dialects, we have long vowels in syllables in which the length compensates the loss of the phoneme /x/. These long vowels are independent of the location of the stress, i.e., can be either stressed or unstressed (*cf.* Vidoeski 2005: 152). Compare (54a) to (54b):

(54) a. %/nose:me/ 'carry.1Pl.Imperf'
b. %/me:lem/ 'ointment'

5.2.5. Even in the standard dialect, there are pairs contrasted only by long and short vowels). Examples:

(55) a_1 /mala/ 'small' *vs.* a_2 /ma:la/ 'neighborhood'
b_1 /sme/ 'be.1Pl' *vs.* b_2 /sme:/ 'laugh'

5.3. In many cases, the boundaries of individual stress units are not coterminous with word boundaries. The Macedonian dialects actually exhibit differences not only with respect to having or not having fixed stress, but also, in being stressed at the level of the word or at the level of a phrase.[35] While in the dialects that have word-level prosodic sensitivity the phonological word is always coterminous with the lexical word, in the dialects that have phrase-level prosodic sensitivity we may and often do have phonological words that are not coterminous with lexical words.

5.3.1. In dialects with word-level sensitivity, such as the dialect of Skopje, the noun and its modifier are stressed distinctly, whereas in dialects with phrase-level sensitivity, such as the dialect of Ohrid, they may and often do form a single prosodically restructured phonological word.[36]

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[35] The west-central dialects, on which the Macedonian standard is based, are phrase-level sensitive to a moderate degree, and so is the Macedonian standard.

[36] Note that in both dialects the stress is antepenultimate.

(56)	The dialect of Skopje	The dialect of Ohrid	
	/'topla 'voda/	%/top'la voda/	'hot water'
	/po'gornata 'vrata/	%/pogorna'ta vrata/	'the upper door'

5.3.2. A special type of phonological words that are not coterminous with lexical words are phonological words in which lexical words host clitics.

6. Prosodic Behavior of Clitics

Macedonian has two types of clitics: (a) clitics that operate in the domain of the noun phrase (NP) or determiner phrase (DP), to which we shall refer as "adnominal", and (b) clitics that operate in the domain of the clause, to which we shall refer as "clausal". The prosodic behavior of these two types of clitics is distinct.

6.1. Prosodic Behavior of Adnominal Clitics

The adnominal clitics include (a) prepositions, which are simple clitics, and (b) definite articles and possessive pronominal clitics, which are special clitics.[37]

6.1.1. The prepositions, which occur to the left of the NP/DP, as a rule, procliticize to the first element of the NP (*cf.* 57), unless the NP is realized by a pronoun, in which case, in the standard and west-central dialects, the preposition and the pronoun form a prosodically restructured, antepenultimately stressed phonological word (*cf.* 58).[38]

(57) a. *so* → *neVEStata*
with bride+the.F.Sg
'with the bride'

b. *so* → *SVOjata* *Ubava* *NEvesta*
with self+the.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg bride
'with his beautiful bride'

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[37] While simple clitics occur in positions that are typical for the word class to which they belong, the special clitics occur in positions which are characteristic for the given syntactic domain (*cf.* Zwicky 1977).

[38] Polysyllabic prepositions are stressed independently.

(i) *ZAradi – MEne DOJde.*
because me come.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he came because of me.'

(58) a. *SO – mene*
with me
'with me'

b. PRED – vas
before you.Acc
'before/in front of you'

6.1.2. The definite articles, which occur to the right of the first constituent of the nominal phrase, and the possessive pronominal clitics, which occur to the immediate right of nouns denoting family relationship,[39] form prosodically restructured, antepenultimately stressed phonological words with their hosts:[40]

(59) a_1 *BraTUčedot* *dojde.*
cousin.M+the.M.Sg come.3Sg.Aor
'The cousin came.'

a_2 *BraTUčed-mi* *dojde.*
cousin.M-1Sg.Dat.Cl come.3Sg.Aor
'My cousin came.'

b_1 *BratuČETkata* *dojde.*
cousin.F+the.F.Sg come.3Sg.Aor
'The (female) cousin came.'

b_2 *BratuČETka-mi* *dojde.*
cousin.F-1Sg.Dat.Cl come.3Sg.Aor
'My (female) cousin came.'

6.2. Prosodic Behavior of Clausal Clitics

The prosodic behavior of the clausal clitics basically depends on the morphological features of the head of the clause.[41]

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[39] In polysyllabic articled words the stress falls on a syllable different from that on which it falls in its non-articled counterparts. Thus, the hosts of the clitics in (59) are stressed as follows:

(i) *BRAtučed*

(ii) *braTUčedka*

[40] The definite articles and the possessive clitics do not co-occur.

[41] The clausal clitics are discussed in section 2 of Chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause".

6.2.1. In positive clauses whose predicates have tensed verbs or *l*-participles, to which I refer as [+Vb, –Nom] heads, the clausal clitics are prototypical preverbal clitics, i.e., they are placed to the immediate left of the verb or *l*-participle and procliticize to it:[42]

(60) a. *Ḱe* → *mu* → *go* → StMac
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
DAdam *PISmoto.*
give.1Sg.Pf.Pres letter+the.N.Sg
'I will give him the letter.'

b. *Si* → *mu* → *go* → *DAla*
be.2Sg 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg
PISmoto.
letter+the.N.Sg
'You have given him the letter, I understand.'[43]

6.2.2. In positive clauses with nominal predicates, to which I refer as [+N, –V] heads, the Macedonian clausal clitics encliticize to the constituent to their immediate left.

(61) a. *TATko* ← *si* ← *mu.* StMac
father be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'You are his father.'

b. *TI* ← *si* ← *mu* *na* *Ova* *DEte* *TATko.*
you be.2Sg 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl to this.N child father
'It is you who are father to this child.'

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[42] The interrogative clitic *li* is an exception; it encliticizes to any focused element, to the right of which it is always placed:

(i) *Ti* → *go* → *PRAti* ← *li* *PISmoto?*
2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl send.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl letter+the.N.Sg
'Did he send/has he sent you the letter?'

(ii) *VČEra* ← *li* *DOJde?*
yesterday Inter.Cl come.2/3Sg.Aor
'Was it yesterday that you/(s)he came?'

[43] In association with forms of the 'be' auxiliary, the Macedonian *l*-participle signals evidentiality. *Cf.* section 10 of Chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

6.2.3. In positive clauses whose predicates have adjectives or past participles, to which I refer as [+Vb, +Nom] heads, the Macedonian clausal clitics may, like the clitics in clauses with [+Vb, –Nom] heads, procliticize to the adjective or past participle (*cf.* 62), but more often they behave like the clitics in clauses with [–Vb, +Nom] heads and encliticize to the constituent to their immediate left (*cf.* 63):

(62) a. *?Si* → *mu* → *MIL.* StMac
be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl dear.M.Sg.Adj
'You are dear to him.'

b. *?Mu* → *e* → *SKInato* *PALtoto.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg torn.N.Sg.Past.Part coat+the.N.Sg
'His coat is torn.'

(63) a_1 *MIL* ← *si* ← *mu.* StMac
dear.M.Sg.Adj be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'You are dear to him.'

a_2 *TI* ← *si* ← *mu* *na* *NAšion* *SIN*
you be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl to our+the.M.Sg.Dist son
MNOgu *MIL.*
very dear.M.Sg.Adj
'You are very dear to our son.'

b_1 *SKInato* ← *mu* ← *e* *PALtoto.*
torn+the.N.Sg.Past.Part 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg coat+the.N.Sg
'His coat is torn.'

b_2 *Na* *PEtreta* ← *mu* ← *e* *DEneska*
to Petre.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg today
SKInato *PALtoto.*
torn.N.Sg.Past.Part coat+the.N.Sg
'Petre's coat has been torn today.'

6.2.4. In negative and interrogative clauses, cliticization strategies vary not only depending on the morphological features of the head of the clause, but also depending on the dialect of the speakers.

6.2.4.1. In most western Macedonian dialects and the standard dialect used by speakers that come from western Macedonia, we have two distinct cliticization strategies: Clauses with [+Vb, –Nom] clausal heads, the negation marker *ne*, or the interrogative

pronoun form a prosodically restructured phonological word with the pronominal clitics to their right and the tensed verb or *l*-participle[44] (*cf.* 64), whereas in clauses with [+Vb,+Nom] or [+Nom,–Vb] heads, *ne* or the interrogative pronoun form a prosodically restructured phonological word with the clitics to their right, the participle, the adjective or the noun being stressed independently (*cf.* 65).

(64) a_1 *Ne – gi – PROdava jaBOLkata.* W/StMac
not 3Pl.Acc.Cl sell.3Sg apples+the.N.Pl
'(S)he is not selling the apples.'

a_2 *Ne – mu – GI – dava jaBOLkata.*
not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.N.Pl
'(S)he is not giving him the apples.'

b_1 *Koj – gi – PROdava jaBOLkata?*
who 3Pl.Acc.Cl sell.3Sg apples+the.N.Pl
'Who is selling the apples?'

b_2 *Koj – mu – GI – dava jaBOLkata?*
who 3Sg.M.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.N.Pl
'Who is giving him the apples?'

b_3 *Koj – ne – mu – GI – dava jaBOLkata?*
who not 3Sg.Dat.M.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.N.Pl
'Who is not giving him the apples?'

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[44] As we see, the stress can fall on the verb or on the clitic to its left, but always on the antepenultimate syllable of the phonological word. Negated Cl + V structures with monosyllabic verbs, however, appear to be exceptional; as illustrated in (i), in such structures the stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the phonological word:

(i) *(TOJ) ne – mu – GI – dal* W/StMac
he not 3Sg.M/N.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl given.M.Sg.*l*-Part
jaBOLkata.
apples+the.N.Pl
'He hasn't given him the apples.'

This exceptionality of the stress pattern of Macedonian negated Cl + V structures with monosyllabic verbs has been explained in the framework of metrical theory. As argued by Franks (1987), the word-level stress rule, which makes all final syllables of a stress domain extrametrical, does not apply to monosyllabic words and does not apply post-lexically, i.e., when the stress domain is enlarged to encompass the instantiations of the functional projections to the left of the finite verb.

(65) a_1 *NE – mi – e SKInato* W/StMac
not 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part
PALtovo.
coat+the.N.Sg.Prox1
'My coat is not torn.'

a_2 *NE – si – mu VEḱe uČItelka.*
not be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl already teacher
'You are not his teacher any more.'

b_1 *KoMU – mu – e SKInato PALtoto?*
who.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
'Whose coat is torn?'

b_2 *KoMU – si – mu uČItelka?*
who.Dat be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl teacher.F
'Whose teacher are you?'

b_3 *Komu – NE – si – mu uČItelka?*
who.Dat not be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl teacher.F
'Whose teacher aren't you?'

6.2.4.2. In the northwestern dialects, to which the dialect of the Macedonian capital, Skopje, belongs, as well as in the standard dialect, when used by speakers of these dialects, the clitics always eincliticize to the negation marker or the interrogative pronoun, whereas the clausal head is stressed independently:

(66) a_1 *NE ← mi ← go SKIna* N-W/StMac
not 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor
PALtoto.
coat+the.N.Sg
'You/(s)he didn't tear/hasn't torn my coat.'

a_2 *NE ← mi ← e SKInato PALtoto.*
not 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
'My coat is not torn.'

b_1 *KOJ ← mi ← go SKIna PALtoto?*
who 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor coat+the.N.Sg
'Who has torn my coat?'

(66) b_2 *KOmu* ← *mu* ← *e* *SKInato* *PALtoto?*
who 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
'Whose coat is torn?'

6.2.5. In positive imperative clauses, the pronominal clitics are to the right of the verb, but their prosodic relationship varies. While in most of the western Macedonian dialects and the standard dialect used by speakers of these dialects the clitics form a prosodically restructured phonological word with the verb with imperative morphology (*cf.* 67), in the northwestern dialects the verb is always stressed and the clitics encliticize to it (*cf.* 68):

(67) a. *ZEmi –* *go!* W/StMac
take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
'Take it!'

b. *ZeMI –* *mu –* *go!*
take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
'Take it from him!'

(68) a. *ZEmi* ← *go!* N-W/StMac
take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
'Take it!'

b. *ZEmi* ← *mu* ← *go!*
take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
'Take it from him!'

6.2.6. The cliticization strategy in the negative imperative clauses of the northwestern dialects is also distinct from that in the other western dialects. While in most western Macedonian dialects and the standard dialect used by speakers that come from western Macedonia the verb with imperative morphology is between the negation marker and the pronominal clitics, in the northwestern dialects and the standard dialect used by speakers of these dialects, the pronominal clitics are between the negation marker and the verb with imperative morphology. Whereas in the former case the negation marker forms a prosodically restructured antepenultimately stressed phonological word with the verb and the pronominal clitics (*cf.* 69), in the latter case the negation marker is inherently stressed and the pronominal clitics encliticize to it (*cf.* 70):

(69) a. *Ne – DAvaj – mu!* W/StMac
not give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'Don't give him (anything)!'

b. *Ne – daVAJ – mu – go!*
not give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
'Don't give it to him!'

(70) a. *NE ← mu DAvaj!* N-W/StMac
not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.2Sg.Imper
'Don't give him (anything)!'

b. *NE ← mu ← go DAvaj!*
not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.2Sg.Imper
'Don't give it to him!'

6.2.7. The different cliticization strategies of the Macedonian clausal clitics are summed up in Table 4 on the next page.

Table 4. Cliticization Strategies of the Macedonian Clausal Clitics

Type of Clauses	*Type of Heads*	
indicative positive	[+Vb, –Nom]	procliticize to V
	[+Vb,+Nom]	have dual cliticization strategy
	[+Vb, –Nom]	encliticize to any constituent
indicative negative or interrogative in the western dialects	[+Vb, –Nom]	form prosodically restructured phonological word with *ne* and V
	[±Vb,+Nom]	form phonological word with *ne*
indicative negative or interrogative in the northwestern dialects	any	encliticize to *ne* (V is to the right of the clitics)
imperative positive in the western dialects	[+Vb, +Imper]	form prosodically restructured phonological word with V
imperative positive in the northwestern dialects	[+Vb, +Imper]	encliticize to V
imperative negative in the western dialects	[+Vb, +Imper]	form prosodically restructured phonological word with *ne* and V (*ne* is to the left of V)
imperative negative in the northwestern dialects	[+Vb, +Imper]	encliticize to *ne* (V is to the right of the clitics)

Part Two

The Nominal Phrase

Chapter 5

The Structure of the Nominal Phrase

1. Linearization Pattern

Sentences are basically structured around two types of constituents—nouns and verbs. I will refer to the structures around the nouns as "nominal phrases"—a term that covers both noun phrases (NPs) and determiner phrases (DPs), which in generative grammar are headed by a determiner (Det) and take as a complement a noun phrase.

1.1. The linearization patterns of the constituents of the nominal phrases of most European languages are analogous. To the left of the noun we find determiners, quantifiers, and prenominal modifiers, and to its right lexical, phrasal or clausal modifiers or complements. The ordering of the constituents of the Macedonian nominal phrase adheres to this pattern with some variations.

1.2. In Macedonian, and in Slavic in general, many of the equivalents to the West European possessive and demonstrative determiners behave like modifiers. (*cf.* Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić 2009, Topolinjska 2009). Thus, in English, the prenominal possessives alternate with demonstratives, whereas in Macedonian they can co-occur with them. Compare (1a) to (1b):

(1) a. *These/our houses are cold.* English

b. *Ovie naši kuќi se studeni.* Macedonian
these our houses be.3Pl cold.Pl
'These houses of ours are cold.'

1.3. The Macedonian deictics enter into two ternary oppositions—(a) basic, qualitative and quantitative, and (b) proximate to speaker (Prox1), proximate to addressee (Prox2) and distal (Dist).[1]

1.4. While the English definite articles are determiners that occur in the Left Periphery of the nominal expression and alternate with demonstratives, the Macedonian definite articles are enclitics that can even co-occur with determiners:[2]

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[1] Macedonian deictics are discussed in detail in section 6 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

[2] *Cf.* section 2.4 of chapter 7, entitled "The Category of Definiteness and Articles".

(2) *Go* *sakam* *ovoj* *siniov* *fustan.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl want.1Sg this.M.Sg blue+the.M.Sg.Prox dress
'I want this dress, the blue one.'

2. Nouns and Noun Equivalents

The noun phrases can be headed by nouns or noun equivalents, i.e., by pronouns or modifiers that have assumed the features of deleted nouns.[3]

2.1. Like the nouns of most European languages, Macedonian nouns can be common or proper ([±common]), concrete or abstract ([±concrete]), animate or inanimate ([±animate]), and human or nonhuman ([±human]).[4]

2.1.1. The Macedonian common nouns can be preceded by determiners, quantifiers, and/or modifiers.[5]

(3) a_1 *ovaa* *kuќa* [+concrete, –animate]
this.F.Sg house
'this house'

a_2 *bela* *kuќa*
white.F.Sg house
'white house'

a_3 *ovaa* *bela* *kuќa*
this.F.Sg white.F.Sg house
'this white house'

b. *nekolku* *prifatlivi* *predlozi* [–concrete, –animate]
several acceptable.Pl proposals
'several acceptable proposals'

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[3] Some articled adjectives in the plural regularly occur as noun equivalents. Examples:

(i) *Mladite* *deneska* *se* *poinakvi.*
young+the.Pl today be.3Pl different.Pl
'The youth are different today.'

(ii) *Bolnite* *treba* *da* *se* *lekuvaat.*
sick+the.Pl should.3Sg Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl treat.3Pl
'The sick should be treated.'

[4] All [+animate] nouns are [+concrete] and all [+human] nouns are [+animate].

[5] The determiners and the quantifiers are discussed in section 3, while the modifiers are discussed in section 4 below.

(3) c. *nekoj* *mlad* *petel* [+animate, –human]
some.M.Sg young.M.Sg rooster
'some young rooster'

d. *našiot* *slaven* *dirigent* [+human]
our+the.M.Sg famous.M.Sg conductor
'our famous conductor'

2.1.2. Proper names referring to persons are preceded by demonstrative determiners or by articled modifiers only in marked nominal phrases. Examples:

(4) a. *Toj* *Turgenjev* *e* *moj* *ideal.*
that.M.Sg Turgenjev be.3Sg my.M.Sg ideal
'That Turgenjev is my ideal.'

b. *Očajniot* *Petko* *ne* *znaeše* *što*
desolate+the.M.Sg Petko not know.3Sg.Imperf what
da *pravi.*
Subjun.Mark do.3Sg
'Desolate, Petko didn't know what to do.'

2.1.3. In (a) geographic names, (b) names of institutions, (c) titles, or (d) conventions for reference to a given person, there are modifiers that are constituents of the proper names:[6]

(5) a. *Sredozemnoto* *more*
Mediterranean+the.N.Sg sea
'The Mediteranean'

b. *Makedonskata* *akademija* *na* *naukite* *i*
Macedonian+the.F.Sg academy of sciences+the.Pl and
umetnostite
arts+the.Pl
'The Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts'

c_1 *Sveti* *Nikola*
saint.Def.Adj Nikola
'St Nikola'

---

[6] All of these modifiers are articled. *Cf.* sections 1.2.2 in chapter 7, entitled "The Category of Definiteness and Articles".

(5) c_2 *Negovoto* *prvosveštenstvo* *Aleksej*
his+the.N.Sg Holiness Aleksej
'His Holiness Aleksej'

d. *stariot* *Čašule*
old+the.M.Sg Čašule
'The old Čašule'

3. Determiners and Quantifiers

Although they have some of the features of the *prima facie* adjectives, the Macedonian basic deictics that occur to the left of the noun in a nominal phrase can be referred to as "demonstrative determiners", since they occur in the Left Periphery of the nominal expression (most often in first position), do not co-occur with each other, and in unmarked nominal phrases do not co-occur with articled nouns.

3.1. The forms of the Macedonian demonstrative determiners are given in Table 1:[7]

Table 1. Forms of Demonstrative Determiners

	Proximate to 1st	Proximate to 2nd	Distal
M.Sg	*ovoj*	*toj*	*onoj*
F.Sg	*ovaa*	*taa*	*onaa*
N.Sg	*ova*	*toa*	*ona*
Pl	*ovie*	*tie*	*onie*

3.2. The demonstrative determiners can be preceded by two series of universal quantifiers: (a) *siot* 'the whole.M.Sg', *seta* 'the whole.F.Sg', *seto* 'the whole.N.Sg', *site* 'all' and (b) *cel(iot)* '(the) whole.M.Sg', *cela(ta)* '(the) whole.F.Sg', *celo(to)* '(the) whole.N.Sg', *celi(te)* '(the) whole.Pl', and by the intensifiers *sam(iot)* '(the) self.M.Sg', *sama(ta)* '(the) self.F.Sg', *samo(to)* '(the) self.N.Sg', *sami(te)* '(the) self.Pl' and *ist(iot)* '(the) same.M.Sg', *ista(ta)* '(the) same.F.Sg', *isto(to)* '(the) same. N.Sg', *isti(te)* '(the) same.Pl'. The quantifiers *siot* 'the whole.M.Sg', *seta* 'the whole. F.Sg', *seto* 'the whole.N.Sg', *site* 'all' are always articled (*cf.* 6a),[8] the quantifiers

[7] The forms of the demonstrative determiners also operate as pronouns (*cf.* section 6 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals").

[8] The root of the quantifiers *siot* 'the whole.M.Sg', *seta* 'the whole.F.Sg', *seto* 'the whole.N.Sg', *se*, appears without articles only as a pronoun (*cf.* chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals"). There are good grounds to believe that the articled quantifiers are formed in the lexicon.

cel(iot) '(the) whole.M.Sg', *cela(ta)* '(the) whole.F.Sg', *celo(to)* '(the) whole.N.Sg', *celi(te)* '(the) whole.Pl' are articled only when they occur to the left of demonstrative determiners (*cf.* 6b),[9] whereas the intensifiers are obligatorily articled when occurring to the left of demonstrative determiners (*cf.* 7) and optionally when preceding nouns or personal pronouns:[10]

(6) a. *site* *ovie* *novi* *kuќi*
all+the.Pl these new.Pl houses
'all these new houses'

b. *celiot* *toj* *napušten* *ostrov*
all+the.M.Sg that.M deserted.M.Sg island
'that whole deserted island'

(7) a. *istite* *ovie* *luti* *luǵe*
same+the.Pl these angry.Pl people
'the same angry men'

b. *samiot* *ovoj* *neobičen* *poteg*
self+the.M.Sg this.M unusual.M.Sg move
'this unusual move itself'

If it were not so, the quantifiers that are stranded in the VP (*cf.* section 8 below) could not be articled.

[9] These quantifiers are always non-articled when preceding indefinite articles or numerals, as in (i–ii):

(i) *cela* *edna* *godina*
whole.F.Sg one.F.Sg year
'a whole year'

(ii) *celi* *pet* *meseci*
whole.Pl five months
'a whole five months'

[10] Thus, we can have:

(i) *Sam(iot)* *Petko/toj* *go* *reče* *toa.*
self+the.M.Sg Petko/he 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl say.3Sg.Aor that.N
'Petko/he himself said that.'

(ii) *Vo* *muzejot* *ima* *isti* *(vakvi)* *sliki.*
in museum+the.M.Sg have.3Sg same.Pl such.Pl pictures
'In the museum there are pictures the same as these ones.'

(iii) *Muzejot* *gi* *ima* *istite* *sliki.*
museum+the.M.Sg 3Pl.Acc.Cl have.3Sg same+the.Pl pictures
'The museum has the same pictures.'

3.3. The indefinite *eden* 'a/one' and its negated counterpart *nieden* 'no', as well as the 'wh'-word *koj* 'who' and its derivatives *sekoj* 'each/every', *nekoj* 'some', *ponekoj* 'some.Distr', *nikoj* 'no', *koj bilo* 'whichever'[11] also function as determiners:

(8) *toj/ eden/ nieden/ koj/ sekoj/ nikoj/ koj-bilo umen čovek*
that/ a/ no/ which/ each/ no/ whoever wise man

3.3.1. When functioning as determiners *eden* 'a/one', *nieden* 'no', and the 'wh'-word *koj* and its derivatives listed in section 3.3. below can be followed by universal non-articled quantifiers or by the modifier *drug* 'other':

(9) a. *Edna (i) ista devojka.*
one.F.Sg and same.F.Sg girl
'One and the same girl.'

b. *Koja ista devojka?*
which.F.Sg same.F.Sg girl
'Which same girl?'

c. *Nekoja/ sekoja druga devojka.*
some.F.Sg every.F.Sg other.F.Sg girl
'Some/every other girl.'

3.4. In addition to the quantifiers that appear to the left of the demonstrative determiners, Macedonian displays quantifiers that occur lower in the hierarchy of the nominal structure. Here belong (a) simple and compound numerals other than *eden* 'one' (e.g., *pet* 'five', *deset* 'ten', *tri iljadi trista trieset i tri* 'three thousand three hundred thirty three'); (b) paranumerals, such as *mnogu* 'many/much', *kolku* 'how many/how much', *nekolku* 'several', *nikolku* 'none',[12], *bezbroj* 'countless', *poveḱe* 'more/a considerable number of'; (c) a number of other items denoting numeral quantity, such as *dvajca* 'two.Hum.M', *trojca* 'three.Hum.M', *četvorica* 'four. Hum.M', *petmina* 'five.Hum.M', *desetmina* 'ten.Hum.M', *desetina* 'around ten', *mnozina* 'many.Hum.M', *obata* 'both.Hum.M', *obete* 'both.Hum.F'; and (d) petrified structures expressing approximate quantity, such as *dva-tri* 'two or three' and *pet-šest* 'five or six'.[13] Many of the items of this group can be articled, but *kolku* 'how

[11] The indefinite *eden* is discussed in section 2 of chapter 7, entitled "The Category of Definiteness and Articles". The 'wh'-word *koj* 'who' and its derivatives are discussed in section 4 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

[12] In colloquial Macedonian there is a variant of *nikolku* 'none'—*%ič.*

[13] *Poveḱe*, with the meaning 'more', without an article, is the standard comparative degree of *mnogu* 'many/much'.

many/how much', *nikolku* 'none', *bezbroj* 'countless' and the petrified structures expressing approximate quantity cannot be articled, while *obata* 'both.Hum.M' and *obete* 'both.Hum.F' have to be articled.[14]

4. Prenominal Modifiers

The ordering of the prenominal modifiers has been claimed to be universal, with distinct categories of modifiers occupying distinct and predictably ordered NP-internal positions (*cf.* Sproat and Shih 1991) and cross-linguistic variation derived through (partial) movement of the head noun (*cf.* Cinque 1994). One should, however, bear in mind that not all categories of modifiers occur in all languages.

4.1. Having analyzed an extensive corpus of data, Topolinjska (2009) concludes that five types of modifiers occur in Macedonian.[15] She argues that the selection of the modifiers is a Markov process: the selection of the modifier that is closest to the head noun depends on the semantic properties of the head noun, while the selection of each successive modifier depends on the semantic properties of the NP to its right. According to Topolinjska, the left-to-right ordering of prenominal modifiers is as follows:[16]

1. Modifiers that are based on similarity of the referent with other entities, such as *sličen* 'similar', *takov* 'such', *tolkav* 'of that size', *(po)inakov* 'different', *nekakov* 'some kind of', *nikakov* 'no (kind of)';
2. Pronominal possessives, such as *moj* 'my', *naš* 'our', *nečij* 'somebody's', *ničij* 'nobody's', and de-nominal possessives, such as *Radin* 'Rada's', *sudiin* 'judge's', *Petrov* 'Petar's', *učitelov* 'teacher's';[17]

The items with the suffix *-ica/-jca* are used with the numerals the final digit of which is 2, 3, or 4, whereas those with the suffix *-mina* are used with numerals that end on a higher number.

[14] Most of these quantifiers can be preceded by demonstrative determiners, but *mnogu* 'many/much' and *nekolku* 'several', cannot, whether articled or not.

[15] For Topolinjska (2009) the head noun and its prenominal modifiers constitute the nuclear phrase.

[16] The ordering is a result of a complex partial reconstruction, since in Topolinjska's corpus there were no modifier sequences with more than four segments, and a large majority of examples were sequences of two segments. Note that the segments can be connected by conjuncts or adjuncts.

Most of the adjectives inflect for gender and number but are listed in their masculine form. When the adjective occurs only with a specific gender/number marker, its gender/number marker is indicated in the gloss.

[17] De-nominal possessive modifiers with the suffix *-in* are derived from all nouns ending in *-a* and from masculine nouns ending in palatals. De-nominal possessive modifiers with the suffix

3. Modifiers that give information on the place of the referent in a spatial and/or temporal sequence, such as *prv* 'first', *vtor* 'second', *desetti* 'tenth', *iljaditi* 'thousandth', *(pret)posleden* '(pen)ultimate', *prethoden* 'previous', *nareden* 'next', *paralelen* 'parallel';[18] or relate these referents to other entities in space and time, such as *preden* 'front', *zaden* 'back', *lev* 'left', *desen* 'right', *goren* 'upper', *dolen* 'lower', *minat* 'past', *iden* 'future', *denešen* 'today's', *včerašen* 'yesterday's', *ovogodišen* 'this year's', *moderen* 'modern', *srednovekoven* 'medieval', *novodojden* 'newly-come', *skopski* 'Skopje's', *makedonski* 'Macedonian', *evropski* 'European';[19]
4. "Attributives" that enrich the connotation of a given concept, which are often primary adjectives, such as *ubav* 'beautiful', *dobar* 'good', *bel* 'white', but may also be adjectives derived from nouns or verbs,[20] or participles;[21]

-ov are derived from masculine nouns ending in a consonant and masculine or neuter nouns ending in the vowel *-o*. The possessive forms of masculine and neuter nouns ending in *-e* are formed by the addition of the consonant *-v*.

[18] As it may be observed, the ordinal numerals have been assigned to this group.

[19] Many of the modifiers of this group are derived from adverbs or adverbial phrases with the suffix *-en* or from the names of places or nations with the suffix *-ski*. For example:

(i)	*denešen*	'today's'	(from *denes* 'today')
(ii)	*ovogodišen*	'this year's'	(from *ovaa godina* 'this year')
(iii)	*desen*	'right'	(from *desno* 'to the right')
(iv)	*goren*	'upper'	(from *gore* 'up')
(v)	*makedonski*	'Macedonian'	(from *Makedonija* 'Macedonia')

[20] The de-nominal adjectives of this type are most often formed with the suffixes *-at, -est, -(ov)it, -(l)iv*, while the de-verbal adjectives are formed with the suffixes *-liv, -telen, čki, -kav*. Examples:

(i)	*bradat* 'bearded'		(from *brada* 'beard')
(ii)	*trkalest* 'round'		(from *trkalo* 'wheel')
(iii)	*jadovit* 'poisonous'		(from *jad* 'poison')
(iv)	*trnliv* 'thorny'		(from *trn* 'thorn')
(v)	*rešliv* 'soluble'	and *rešitelen* 'decisive'	(from *reši* 'solve/decide.Aor')
(v')	*rešavački* 'deciding'		(from *rešava* 'solve/decide.Imperf')
(vi)	*lepliv* 'sticky'	or *lepkav*	(from *lepi* 'stick')

5. Relational modifiers, i.e., modifiers that provide information on the relation between the named notion denoted by the head noun and related notions (by specifying its function, origin, or conditions/context of occurrence), such as *domašen* 'homemade (bread)', *kupečki* 'commercial (store-bought) (noodles)', *istoriski* 'historical (novel)', *kriminalistički* 'crime.Adj (story)', *gradski* 'urban (usage)', *selski* 'rural (custom)', *običaeno* 'common.Adj.N.Sg (law)', *semejno* 'family.Adj.N.Sg (law)', *semejni* 'family/kinship.Adj.Pl (relationships)', *profesionalni* 'professional.Pl (ties)'.[22]

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[21] The only Macedonian participles that have both predicative and attributive functions are the passive participles. These participles are marked by the suffixes *-(e)n/-(e)na/-(e)no/-(e)ni* or *-at/-ta/-to/-ti*, the distinction being formal—the latter suffixes occur in verbs with N bases. The forms of the passive participles are illustrated on the example of the participles of the imperfective verb *saka* 'like/love' and the perfective verb *skine* 'tear':

(i)	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl
saka	*sakan*	*sakana*	*sakano*	*sakani*
skine	*skinat*	*skinata*	*skinato*	*skinati*

The use of the passive participles is illustrated below:

(ii) *Ova* *dete* *e* *mnogu* *sakano.*
this.N.Sg child be.3Sg much loved.N.Sg
'This child is loved very much.'

(ii') *Ova e* *mojata* *sakana* *sestra.*
this be.3Sg my+the F.Sg beloved.F.Sg sister
'This is my beloved sister.'

(iii) *Ja* *frliv* *skinatata* *košula.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl throw-out.1Sg.Aor torn.F.Sg+the.F.Sg shirt
'I threw out the torn shirt.'

(iii') *Košulata* *ne* *beše* *skinata.*
shirt+the.F.Sg not be.3Sg.Imperf torn.F.Sg
'The shirt was not torn.'

[22] Modifiers of this type are actually part of a larger type of adjectives, which in the generative literature are referred to as "provenance modifiers". Along with modifiers such as those listed, which are suffixed by *-ski* or *-en*, this type should include de-nominal adjectives derived with the suffixes *-in*, *-ov/-ev*, and *-(j)i/(k)i*. While the adjectives with the suffixes *-in* and *-ov/-ev* can be derived from both animate and inanimate concrete nouns, the ones with the suffixes *-(j)i/(k)i* are derived only from nouns referring to people or animals. As in the case of possessive modifiers, the suffix *-in* can be added to nouns ending in *-a*; the suffix *-ov* to masculine nouns ending in a consonant and masculine or neuter nouns ending in the vowel *-o*; whereas the suffix *-ev* can be added to masculine nouns ending with palatals (*cf.* footnote 17). Examples of nouns modified by provenance adjectives are given in (i–iii):

(i) *učiteloviot* *predlog*
teacher's+the.M.Sg proposal
'the teacher's proposal'

4.2. The "attributives" have subtypes.

4.2.1. Topolinjska (2009) identifies the following subtypes:[23]

a. adjectives that indicate a subjective evaluation of the speaker, such as *ubav* 'beautiful', *dobar (za nešto)* 'good (at something)', *adekvaten* 'adequate', *soodveten* 'appropriate', *praktičen* 'practical', *efikasen* 'efficient', *grd* 'ugly', *loš (za nešto)* 'bad (at something)', *nezgoden* 'awkward';

b. adjectives determining physical and (in the case of human referents) psychological parameters,[24] such as *visok* 'tall', *nizok* 'short', *debel* 'fat', *slab* 'slim', *širok* 'wide', *tesen* 'narrow', *težok* 'heavy', *lesen* 'lightweight', *dobar* 'good', *silen* 'strong', *toleranten* 'tolerant', *ljubezen* 'kind', *trpeliv* 'patient';

c. color adjectives, e.g., *bel* 'white', *crn* 'black', *siv* 'gray', *sin* 'blue', *zelen* 'green'.

4.2.2. The "attributives" of subtypes a. and b. can be graded and modified by adverbs.

4.2.2.1. The grading can be of comparative and superlative degree, the exponent of the former being the preposition *po-*,[25] and that of the latter the prepositions *naj-* or *pre-*:[26]

(ii) *dabov* *list*
oak.Adj.M.Sg leaf
'oak's leaf'

(iii) *ovč(k)o* *sirenje*
sheep's.N.Sg cheese
'sheep's milk cheese'

[23] Topolinjska's typology should be extended to cover at least one more subtypes—material adjectives, usually derived from material nouns, most often with the suffix *-en*, such as (i-ii):

(i) *drven* (from *drvo* 'wood')
'wooden.M.Sg'

(ii) *staklen* (from *staklo* 'glass')
'glass.Adj.M.Sg

[24] These adjectives very often occur in pairs reflecting two opposite poles on a scale.

[25] *Po-* may also be used when there is no direct comparison. As shown in (i), in this case its meaning is 'rather':

(i) *Pogolemite* *planini* *vo* *Makedonija* *se...*
Compar+big+the.Pl mountains in Macedonia be.3Pl
'The rather high mountains (i.e., mountains whose height is of some significance) in Macedonia are...'

(10) a. *poubav*
Compar+beautiful.M.Sg
'more beautiful'

b. *najubav*
Superl+beautiful.M.Sg
'the most beautiful'

c. *preubav*
Superl+beautiful.M.Sg
'extremely beautiful'

4.2.2.2. The modifying adverbs can be (a) quantifiers from a short enumerable list—*mnogu* 'much/very',[27] *mošne* 'rather', *malku* 'little', *kolku* 'how many/much', *nekolku* 'some, a few'; (b) forms equivalent to the third person neuter form of adjectives;[28] or (c) adverbs of the (b) type themselves modified by adverbs of the (a) type:[29]

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[26] *Naj-* marks the superlative in the strict sense ('the -est, the most'), whereas *pre-* means 'extremely'. Both *po-* and *naj-* can in some cases modify a noun, a verb or even a prepositional phrase:

(i) *Toj e pojunak od tebe.*
he be.3Sg Compar+hero from you.Acc
'He is more of a hero than you are.'

(ii) *Toj e najčovek.*
he be.3Sg Superl+man
'He is the best of men.'

(iii) *Toj najnesaka da go falat.*
he Compar+Neg+like.3Sg Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl praise.3Pl
'Most of all he dislikes to be praised.'

(iv) *Toj grad e ponajug.*
that town be.3Sg Compar+to+south
'That town is more to the south.'

[27] *Mnogu* can also function as a quantifier, so that a nominal phrase in which it precedes an adjective can be ambiguous:

(i) *Mnogu ubavi devojki*
many/much/very beautiful.Pl girls
1. 'many beautiful girls'
2. 'very beautiful girls'

[28] The masculine forms of the adjectives ending in *-ski/-ški/-čki* and the neuter forms of all other adjectives are the only productive source for forming adverbs.

[29] Adverbs of the (a) type can also modify comparative adjectives (*cf.* (i)), while the adverb *daleku* 'far' can modify both comparative and superlative adjectives (*cf.* (ii–iii)):

(11) a. *mnogu* *ubav*
very beautiful.M.Sg
'very beautiful'

b. *mošne* *golem*
rather big.M.Sg
'rather big'

c. *malku* *poznat*
little known.M.Sg.Pass.Part
'little known'

(12) a. *teško* *bolen*
seriously ill.M.Sg
'seriously ill'

b. *strašno* *golem*
terribly big.M.Sg
'terribly big'

c. *bogato* *platen*
richly paid.M.Sg.Pass.Part
'richly paid'

(13) *mnogu* *bogato* *platen*
very richly paid.M.Sg.Pass.Part
'very richly paid'

4.2.3. Two or more "attributives" of subtypes a. and b., whether themselves modified by adverbs or not, can co-occur, in which case they are separated by comma in-

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(i) *Tvojava* *sestra* *e* *mnogu* *pobrza* *od* *Ana/mene.*
your+the.F.Sg.Prox1 sister be.3Sg much Compar+fast.F.Sg from Ana/me
'Your sister is much faster than Ana/me.'

(ii) *Francija* *e* *daleku* *pobogata* *država* *od* *Makedonija.*
France be.3Sg far Compar+rich+the.F.Sg state from Macedonia.
'France is a far richer country than Macedonia.'

(iii) *Petre* *e* *daleku* *najdobriot* *učenik* *vo/* *od/* *ovaa*
Petre be.3Sg far Superl+good+the.M.Sg student in/ from/ this.F.Sg
gimnazija.
high-school.
'Petre is by far the best student in/of this high-school.'

tonation or connected by the cumulative conjunction *i* 'and' or the adversative conjunction *no* 'but':[30]

(14) a. *mnogu ubav, prilično golem, sin kamen*
much beautiful.M.Sg considerably big.M.Sg blue.M.Sg stone
'very beautiful, considerably big, blue stone'

b. *mnogu ubav i prilično golem, sin kamen*
much beautiful.M.Sg and considerably big.M.Sg blue.M.Sg stone
'very beautiful and considerably big, blue stone'

c. *mnogu ubav no prilično mal, sin kamen*
much beautiful.M.Sg and considerably small.M.Sg blue.M.Sg stone
'very beautiful but considerably small, blue stone'

5. Postnominal Modifiers and Complements

In postnominal position we find: (a) lexical modifiers, (b) prepositional phrases, (c) participial phrases, or (d) relative clauses.[31]

5.1. Lexical postnominal modifiers occur to the right of (a) indefinite pronominal heads, (b) appellatives, or (c) direct reference phrases: [32]

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[30] While the semantics of the phrases with the conjunction *i* 'and' are hard to distinguish from that of the phrases without conjunctions, the semantics of the phrases with the conjunction *no* 'but' is distinct from that of either phrases without conjunctions or phrases with the conjunction *i*.

[31] The relative clauses are discussed in chapter 14, entitled "Relative Clauses".

[32] Larson and Marušić (2004) provide evidence that the adjective following the indefinite pronoun has all the properties of adjectives derived from relative clauses and Cinque (2005) argues that adjectives derived from relative clauses enter the structure of the noun phrase as relative clauses in leftmost pre-nominal position, while the post-nominal adjectives ending in post-nominal position result from a leftward movement of the noun phrase. Macedonian sentences such as (i) show that nouns can also move to the left of quantifiers:

(i) *Kuče edno!*
dog one
'You dog!' (lit. 'Dog one!')

(15) a_1 *nekoj* *mil*
someone dear.M.Sg
'someone dear'

a_2 *nešto* *novo*
something new.N.Sg
'something new'

b_1 *Sine* *moj* *dragi!*
son.Voc my.M.Sg dear.M.Sg.Def
'My dear son!'

b_2 *Zemjo* *moja!*
country.Voc my.F.Sg
'My (dear) country!'

c_1 *Nezaboravni* *se* *tvoite* *oči* *sini.*
unforgettable.Pl be.3Pl your+the.Pl eyes blue.Pl
'Your blue eyes are unforgettable.'

c_2 *A* *kutri* *majki* *vaši* *ništo* *ne* *znaat.*
but poor.Pl mothers your.Pl nothing not know.3Pl
'But your poor mothers do not know anything.'

5.2. The postnominal prepositional phrases are most often introduced by the prepositions *na* 'to/of' or *od* 'from/of'[33] and have possessive interpretation, though a variety of other theta-roles may be expressed, such as e.g., agent, patient/theme, experiencer, etc.[34]

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[33] There are postnominal prepositional phrases introduced by other prepositions:

(i) *kafe* *so* *mleko*
coffee with milk
'coffee with milk'

(ii) *pismo* *za* *mene*
letter for me
'a letter for me'

(iii) *ljubov* *bez* *granici*
love without limits
'love without limits'

(iv) *kilimčeto* *pred* *vratata*
rug.Dim+the.N.Sg before door+the.F.Sg
'the little rug in front of the door'

[34] Note that possessive relationships in the nominal predicate are expressed analogously:

(16) a. *knigata* *na/od* *Ivana* (possessor/agent)
book+the.F.Sg of Ivan.Acc
'Ivan's book'

b. *portretot* *na/od* *Marija* (possessor/theme)
portrait+the.M.Sg of Marija
'Marija's portrait'

c. *uništuvanjeto* *na* *gradot* (theme)
destruction+the.N.Sg of city+the.M.Sg
'the destruction of the city'

5.2.1. *Na/od Ivana* in (16a) can be interpreted either as a possessor ('who owns the book'), or as an agent ('who wrote the book'), whereas *na/od Marija* in (16b) can be interpreted either as a possessor ('who owns the portrait') or as a theme ('whoever is depicted in the portrait'). Possessor interpretations are actually generally accessible in most cases.[35] However, with nominalizations, such as *uništuvanjeto* 'the destruction' in (16c), only the preposition *na* 'of' can be used and the only available interpretation is theme ('whatever got destroyed').

5.2.2. In all the examples in (17), the nouns to which the prepositional phrases refer carry definite articles. But we also have prepositional phrase with nouns with indefinite articles or nouns that appear without articles. Thus, we can have:

(17) a. *nogata* *na/od* *čovekot*
leg+the.F.Sg of man+the.M.Sg
'the leg of the man'

b. *noga(ta)* *na/od* *eden* *čovek*
leg+the.F.Sg of a.M man
'(the) leg of a man'

(i) *Knigata* *e* *na/od* *Ana/* *Stojana.*
book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg of Ana/ Stojan.Acc
'The book is Ana's/Stojan's.'

(ii) *Ovaa* *noga* *e* **na/od* *onaa* *masa.*
this.F.Sg leg be.3Sg of that.Dist.F.Sg table
'This leg belongs to that table over there.' (lit. 'This leg is of that table over there.')

[35] *Cf.* Benveniste's (1966) analysis of ambiguity in the interpretations of possessive constructions.

(17) c. *noga* *na/od* *čovek*
leg of man
'human leg'

5.2.3. Though the meanings of *na* and *od* differ—while *na* expresses a static relation between two entities, *od* has an ablative component denoting origin, source, or reason—the choice of one or the other of these two prepositions is in many cases dialectally conditioned. In the eastern and northeastern dialects, *na* is predominant. The use of *od* increases as one moves westwards in the Macedonian-speaking territory and is the only choice in the southwestern dialects. A survey conducted by Mitkovska (2001), however, showed that in the language as a whole the use of *na* is more prominent, while *od* is more readily used when the possessor is inanimate and is exclusively used (a) in partitive modifiers[36] and (b) when the possessor is a complement of a prepositional phase:[37]

(18) a. *Daj* *mi* *parče* *od* *mladoto*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl piece of/from young+the.N.Sg
sirenje!
cheese
'Give me a piece of the young cheese!'

b$_1$ *Javi* *mi* *se* *na* *adresata*
notify.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl to address+the.F.Sg
od *Aneta!*
of/from Aneta
'Send me a note at Aneta's address!' (lit. 'Notify me to the address of Aneta.')

b$_2$ *Ne* *naidovme* *na* *razbiranje* *od*
not encounter.1Pl.Aor to understanding of/from
načalnikot.
head official+the.M.Sg
'We did not meet the approval of the head official.'

[36] The partitive modifiers introduced by prepositions always occur with articles and contrast with article-less phrases in constructions with the nouns functioning as semi-lexical heads discussed in section 9.2 below.

[37] The examples are from Mitkovska (2001: 132–33).

5.2.4. While prepositional nominal expressions functioning as agents of nominalizations may be definite or indefinite (*cf.* 19a), prepositional nominal expressions functioning as objects of nominalizations are, as a rule, definite (*cf.* ($19b_1$)); indefinite objects of nominalizations being prepositionless (*cf.* ($19b_2$)):

(19) a. *izdignuvanje na luġe(to)*
advancement of people+the.Ne.Sg
'advancement of (the) people'

b_1 *berenje na tutunot*
picking of tobacco+the.M.Sg
'tobacco picking'

b_2 *berenje tutun*
picking tobacco
'tobacco picking'

5.2.5. Non-possessive postnominal prepositional modifiers may sometimes alternate with initial constituents of compounds.[38] Thus, we have the following alternatives:

(20) a_1 *snabduvanje so voda*
supply with water

a_2 *vodosnabduvanje*
water+supply
'water supply'

b_1 *prodavnica za cveḱe*
shop for flower

b_2 *%cveḱoprodavnica*
flower+shop
'flower shop'

5.3. The post-nominal participial phrases are participles accompanied by modifiers. As may be observed in (21), the occurrence of the modifiers is obligatory; without them, the phrase would not be acceptable:[39]

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[38] The final phoneme of this constituent is always *o*.

[39] Note that the pronominal participles may but do not have to be modified. Thus, both (i) and (i') and both (ii) and (ii') are acceptable:

(21) a_1 *knigata* [*kupena* *včera*]
book+the.F.Sg bought.F.Sg yesterday
'the book bought yesterday'

a_2 **knigata* *kupena*
book+the.F.Sg bought.F.Sg

b_1 *dolgi pantoloni* [*podvieni* [*do pod kolenici*]]
long.Pl trousers rolled up.Pl to under knees
'long trousers rolled up to under the knees'

b_2 **dolgi pantoloni podvieni*
long.Pl trousers rolled up.Pl

c_1 *lice* [*vivnato od radost*]
face lit up.N.Sg from joy
'a face, lit up of joy'

c_2 **lice vivnato*
face lit up.N.Sg

5.3.1. The participial modifiers do not have to be adjacent to the participle. The nominal head can actually split the participle from its modifier and we can have the following alternatives:[40]

(22) a. *sonce zakovano srede nebo*
sun nailed.N.Sg amidst sky
'a sun nailed in the middle of the sky'

(i) *kupenata kniga*
bought+the.F.Sg book
'the bought book'

(i') [*kupenata* *včera*] *kniga*
bought+the.F.Sg yesterday book
'the book bought yesterday'

(ii) *podvieni pantaloni*
rolled-up.Pl trousers
'rolled-up trousers'

(ii') [*podvieni* [*do pod kolenici*]] *pantaloni*
rolled-up.Pl to under knees trousers
'rolled-up to under the knees trousers'

[40] All the examples with modified participial modifiers are from Markoviḱ (2009).

(22) b. *zakovano* *srede* *nebo* *sonce*
nailed.N.Sg amidst sky sun
'a nailed in the middle of the sky sun'

c. *zakovano* *sonce* *srede* *nebo*
nailed.N.Sg sun amidst sky
'a nailed sun in the middle of the sky'

5.4. Different types of nominal modifiers can co-occur. In the following example, three postnominal modifiers—a prepositional, a participial, and a clausal one—modify a nominal head that is preceded by a determiner, a quantifier, and three prenominal modifiers—a possessive modifier, a modifier that gives information on the place of the referent in a temporal sequence, and an "attributive", in this order.

(23) *tie* *dvajca* *naši* *stari* *dobri* *prijateli* *od*
those two.M.Sg our.Pl old.Pl good.Pl friends from
detstvoto, *dojdeni* *od* *stranstvo,*
childhood+the.N.Sg come.Pl.Pass.Part from abroad
što *ne* *sme* *gi* *videle* *odamna.*
that not be.1Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl seen.*l*-Part.Pl for-a-long-time
'those two old good friends of ours from (our) childhood, who have come from abroad, whom we haven't seen for a long time.'

6. Reordering of Modifiers

The extent to which modifiers occur in given order is a widely discussed topic in linguistic literature.[41] Most authors assume that there is a natural hierarchy of ordering of adjectives, reflecting a semantic hierarchy which is grounded in the mechanism of modification, i.e., in the manner in which respective semantic categories modify the nominal head (*cf.* Bouchard 1998, 2002; Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić 2009;

[41] In Macedonian, the "usual" places of determiners and modifiers can also sometimes be "swapped":

(i) *Bara* *eden* *takov* *šal.*
look-for.3Sg a.M.Sg that-kind.M.Sg scarf
'(S)he is looking for that kind of a scarf.'

(ii) *Bara* *TAKOV* *eden* *šal.*
look-for.3Sg that-kind.M.Sg a.M.Sg scarf
'(S)he is looking for THAT KIND of a scarf.'

Dixon 1982; Sproat and Shih 1991; Cinque 1994; Topolinjska 1981a, 1981b, 1984, 2009). Different authors, however, concentrate on different sets of adjective types.

6.1. In (24) the ordering discussed and illustrated in Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Tomić (2009) is represented and illustrated:[42]

(24) a. $Adj_{qualitative} > Adj_{color} > Adj_{material} > Adj_{provenance}$

b. *prekrasnata* *zelena* *drvena* *italijanska* *ramka*
wonderful+the.F.Sg green.F.Sg wooden.F.Sg Italian.F.Sg frame
'the new, green, wooden, Italian frame'

6.2. The ordering in (24) is a default ordering. More often than not, reordering may occur, thus contradicting, as it were, the natural hierarchy. The reordering can, however, be accounted for, if we adopt an analysis in which at the Left Periphery of the nominal phrase there are topic and focus positions, to which topicalized and focused constituents are moved (Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1998), or in which they are base-derived or merged. Consider the reordering of the constituents in (25):

(25) a. *ZELENATA* *prekrasna* *drvena* *italijanska* *ramka*
green+the.F.Sg wonderful.F.Sg wooden.F.Sg Italian.F.Sg frame
'The GREEN, wonderful, wooden, Italian frame'

b. *DRVENATA* *prekrasna* *zelena* *italijanska* *ramka*
wooden+the.F.Sg wonderful.F.Sg green.F.Sg Italian.F.Sg frame
'The WOODEN, wonderful, green, Italian frame'

c. *ITALIJANSKATA* *prekrasna* *zelena* *drvena* *ramka*
wooden+the.F.Sg wonderful.F.Sg green.F.Sg wooden.F.Sg frame
'The ITALIAN, wonderful, green, wooden frame'

In (25a) the color modifier carries the article, occurs in focus position, and takes scope over the quality, material, and provenance modifiers, whereas the quality modifier takes scope over the material and provenance modifier and the material modifier takes scope over the provenance modifier. In (25b) the material modifier carries the article, occurs in focus position, and takes scope over the quality, color, and provenance modifiers, whereas the quality modifier takes scope over the color and provenance modifier and the color modifier takes scope over the provenance

[42] Detailed work on the fine structure of the nominal phrase has suggested even more subtypes. Thus, Cinque (1994) singles out modality adjectives, which occur very high/early in the linear string, as well as a finer split in the qualitative subtype.

modifier. In (25c) it is the provenance modifier that carries the article, occurs in focus position and takes scope over the quality, color, and material modifiers, whereas the quality modifier takes scope over the color and provenance modifiers and the color modifier takes scope over the provenance modifier. The distinct hierarchies of the nominal modifiers in the three phrases with focused constituents reflect discourse hierarchies and interpretations different from both the phrase with default ordering of constituents and from each other.

6.3. Note, however, that coordinated adjectives, whether modified by adverbs or not, do not have to have scope over each other. Rather than being hierarchically ordered, coordinated modifiers may be involved in parallel modification (*cf.* Teodorescu 2006). Thus, the reordering of the conjuncts of the noun phrase in (14a) would have neither semantic nor discourse effects, and (26a) and (26b) would have analogous interpretations:

(26) a. *mnogu ubav, prilično golem, sin kamen*
much beautiful.M.Sg rather big.M.Sg blue.M.Sg stone
'very beautiful, rather big, blue stone'

b. *prilično golem, mnogu ubav, sin kamen*
rather big.M.Sg very beautiful.M.Sg blue stone
'rather big, very beautiful, blue stone'

7. Direct and Indirect Modification

Since the early days of generative grammar, the adjectives have been related to and derived from relative clauses with nominal predicates headed by adjectives. Thus, the adjective *golema* 'big.F.Sg' in (27a) would be derived from the noun + relative clause structure (27b):

(27) a. *golema čaša*
big.F.Sg glass
'a big glass'

b. *čaša kojašto e golema*
glass which.F.Sg+that be.3Sg big.F.Sg
'a glass which is big'

However, not all adjective + noun phrases have noun + relative clause counterparts. Therefore, in recent analyses (*cf.* Cinque 2005 and references therein), a distinction has been made between direct modifiers, which are merged in the structure of the

noun phrase as phrases,[43] and indirect modifiers, which are derived through reduction of relative clauses.

7.1. Cinque (2006) argues that the direct modifiers occur closer to the noun and often form compounds with them, whereas the indirect modifiers occur further from the noun.[44] If so, Macedonian adjectives such as *prethoden* 'former' or *iden* 'future' (which can never occur in nominal predicates) should belong to a distinct class of adjectives occurring to the right of the "attributives" of subtypes a. and b. (which are the prime examples of modifiers that occur in nominal predicates), and not in the class of modifiers that give information on the place of the referent listed in section 1.1 above. However, as shown in (28), the adjectives *prethoden* 'former' and *iden* 'future' can occur both to the left and to the right of "genuine" adjectives:[45]

(28) a_1 *prethodnata* *mnogu* *interesna* *diskusija*
former+the.F.Sg very interesting.F.Sg discussion
'the former very interesting discussion'

a_2 *mnogu* *interesnata* *prethodna* *diskusija*
very interesting.F.Sg former+the.F.Sg discussion
'the very interesting former discussion'

b_1 *idni* *efikasni* *potfati*
future.Pl efficient.Pl undertakings
'future efficient undertakings'

b_2 *efikasni* *idni* *potfati*
efficient.Pl future.Pl undertakings
'efficient future undertakings'

---

[43] The direct modifiers are treated as phrases, rather than single heads, because they can have structure. In Macedonian, for example, a direct modifier can take an adjunct:

(i) *kupenata* *včera* *kniga*
bought+the.F.Sg yesterday book
'the book bought yesterday'

[44] According to Cinque (2005), all modifiers are merged in the structure of the noun phrase to the left of the head noun, in the following order: 1) full finite relative clause; 2) participial or reduced relative clause; 3) bare adjective phrase derived from a relative clause; 4) direct modification adjective phrase. The full finite relative clauses end up in post-nominal position through a leftward movement of the partial noun phrase to their right.

[45] In the texts examined by Topolinjska (2009), the adjectives *prethoden* 'former' and *iden* 'future' occurred to the left of some genuine or some relational adjectives.

This indicates that in Macedonian, the adjectives of direct modification can be merged in the structure of the noun phrase either before or after the "genuine" adjectives.

7.2. Note, however, that the adjectives that are typically merged in the nominal structure as indirect modifiers, can, under given conditions, be merged as direct ones. A case in point is the adjective *star* 'old' in (29), which actually forms a compound with the noun following it:

(29) *semeen* *star* *čovek*
family.Adj.M.Sg old.M.Sg man
'a family old man'

8. Floating Quantifiers

Recent generative analyses avoid movement and tend to introduce or merge the focused modifiers in the focus positions where they occur. In some cases, however, a movement analysis cannot be avoided.

8.1. In the case of phrases in which a universal articled quantifier co-occurs with a demonstrative determiner, which in unmarked nominal phrases occurs to the right of the quantifier, the universal quantifiers can 'float' in the verb phase, while the rest of the nominal phrase occurs to the left of the verb. Compare the structures in which the nominal phrase appears in its basic, unmarked order ((30a_1) and (30b_1)), to the structures with floating quantifiers ((30a_2) and (30b_2)):

(30) a_1 *Site* *ovie* *vaši* *krupni* *orevi* *se* *šuplivi.*
all+the.Pl these your.Pl big.Pl nuts be.3Pl rotten.Pl
'All of these big nuts of yours are rotten.'

a_2 *Ovie* *vaši* *krupni* *orevi* *se* *site* *šuplivi.*
these your.Pl big.Pl nuts be.3Pl all+the.Pl rotten.Pl
'These big nuts of yours are all rotten.'

b_1 *Celiot* *ovoj* *ubav* *zelen* *ostrov* *e*
whole+the.M.Sg this.M.Sg beautiful green island be.3Sg
negov.
his.M.Sg
'This whole beautiful, green island is his.'

(30) b_2 *Ovoj* *ubav* *zelen* *ostrov* *e* *celiot*
this.M.Sg beautiful green island be.3Sg whole+the.M.Sg
negov.
his.M.Sg
'This beautiful, green island is, all of it, his.'

8.2. When a singular universal quantifier co-occurs with a personal pronoun, the 'floating' of the universal quantifier is obligatory. So, ($31a_1$) and ($31b_1$) are unacceptable; only ($31a_2$) and ($31b_2$) are well-formed:

(31) a_1 **Siot* *ti* *si* *kalliv.*
all+the.M.Sg you.Sg be.2Sg muddy.M.Sg

a_2 *Ti* *si* *siot* *kalliv.*
you.Sg be.2Sg all+the.M.Sg muddy.M.Sg
'You are covered in mud.' (lit. 'You are all muddy.')

b_1 **Celiot* *toj* *e* *isprskan.*
whole.M.Sg(+the.M.Sg) he be.3Sg sprayed.M.Sg

b_2 *Toj* *e* *cel(iot)* *isprskan.*
he be.3Sg whole.M.Sg+the.M.Sg sprayed.M.Sg
'He is sprayed all over.'

8.3. Note, however, that a universal quantifier in the plural can precede a personal pronoun and if unmarked it usually does so:[46]

(32) a. *Site* *tie* *mu* *se* *na* *usluga.*
all+the.Pl they 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Pl to service

b. *Tie* *SITE* *mu* *se* *na* *usluga.*
they all+the.Pl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Pl to service
'All of them are at his service.'

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[46] A universal quantifier in the plural can also appear either to the left of to the right of a numeral:

(i) *celi* *dve* *godini*
whole.Pl two years

(ii) *dve* *CELI* *godini*
two whole.Pl years
'two whole years'

9. Semi-Lexical Heads

In most cases the constituent to the immediate left of the head noun is a determiner, a quantifier, or a modifier. There are, however, structures in which a head noun is preceded by another noun.

9.1. The noun to the left of another noun, N1, may modify the noun to its right, N2:

(33) a. *vetar* *rabota*
wind affair
'lost cause'

b. *sila* *čovek*
force man
'a forceful man'

c. *junak* *žena*
hero woman
'a heroic woman'

d. *ručak* *vreme*
lunch time
'lunch time'

9.2. There are, however, several classes of nouns that occur in N1 positions, which do not behave as modifiers to N2: (a) quantifier nouns, (b) measure nouns, (c) part nouns, (d) container nouns, (e) formation nouns, (f) kind nouns:

(34) a_1 *čift* *volovi*
yoke oxen
'a yoke of oxen'

a_2 *ralo* *čorapi*
pair socks
'a pair of socks'

b_1 *kilo* *krompiri*
kilo potatoes
'a kilogram of potatoes'

(34) b_2 *litar* *mleko*
liter milk
'a liter of milk'

c_1 *parče* *leb*
slice bread
'a slice of bread'

c_2 *grutka* *šeќer*
lump sugar
'a lump of sugar'

d_1 *kofa* *voda*
bucket water
'a bucket(ful) of water'

d_2 *šiše* *vino*
bottle wine
'a bottle of wine '

e_1 *stado* *ovci*
flock sheep.Pl
'a flock of sheep'

e_2 *grupa* *luǵe*
group people
'a group of people'

e_3 *kitka* *karanfili*
bunch carnations
'a bunch of carnations'

f. *vid/tip* *avtomobili*
type cars
'a type of cars'

9.2.1. Judging from the translations, we might assume that in the nominal phrases in (34) N2 modifies N1. The distinct translations of the nominal phrases in the pair sentences in (35), however, show that nominal phrases such as those in (35) differ from phrases in which a prepositional phrase with the same noun modifies a partitive noun:

(35) a_1 *Daj* *mi* *parče* *sirenje!*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl piece cheese
'Give me a piece of cheese!'

a_2 *Daj* *mi* *parče* *od* *sirenjeto!*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl piece from cheese+the.N.Sg
'Give me a piece from the cheese!'

b_1 *Donese* *kofa* *svežo* *mleko.*
bring.3Sg.Aor bucket fresh.N.Sg milk
'(S)he brought a bucketful of fresh milk.'

b_2 *Donese* *kofa* *so* *svežo* *mleko.*
bring.3Sg.Aor bucket with fresh.N.Sg milk
'(S)he brought a bucket (filled) with fresh milk.'

9.2.2. The fact that, as shown in (36), determiners and/or quantifiers occur to the left of N1 but not between N1 and N2, makes us doubt that we have two noun phrases.

(36) a. *(ova)* *parče* *(*ova)* *sirenje*
this.N.Sg slice this.N.Sg cheese
'this slice of cheese'

b. *nekolku* *roja* *(*nekolku)* *pčeli*
several swarms several bees
'several swarms of bees'

c. *(mnogu)* *stada* *(*mnogu)* *ovci*
many flocks many sheep
'many flocks of sheep'

9.2.3. If N1 and N2 belong to the same noun phrase why don't we analyze N1 as a functional head—a determiner or a quantifier? There is more than one reason for not doing that:

9.2.3.1. To the left of N1 we can have a determiner or a quantifier, which show agreement with N1 (*cf.* the examples in (36)).

9.2.3.2. Depending on the verb, either N1 or N2 may be interpreted as a direct object. In (37a) N1 would be interpreted as the direct object, since one can break bottles and not wine, whereas in (37b) N2 would be interpreted as the direct object since it is wine that one drinks and not bottles:

(37) a. *Skrši* *pet* *šišinja* *vino.*
break.3Sg.Aor five bottles wine
'(S)he broke five bottles of wine.'

b. *Ispi* *pet* *šišinja* *vino.*
drink.3Sg.Aor five bottles wine
'(S)he drank five bottles of wine.'

9.2.3.3. Verbal agreement can be either with N1 or with N2. The following examples are from Koneski (1967: 222):

(38) a. *Edna grupa partizani se gotveše*
a.F.Sg group partisans be.3Pl get-ready.3Sg.Imperf
da trgne za Kičevo.
Subjun.Mark depart.3Sg.Pf.Pres for Kičevo
'A group of partisans was getting ready to depart for Kičevo.'

b. *Roj misli mi vrvea niz glava.*
swarm thoughts 1Sg.Dat.Cl pass.3Pl.Imperf through head
'A swarm of thoughts were passing through my head.'

9.2.3.4. A relative clause can refer either to N1 or to N2. Thus, in (39a) the antecedent of the relative clause would be N1 (it is the tourists that sing), whereas in (39b) it would be N2 (it is the bus that got stuck).

(39) a. *Vidov* *eden* *avtobus* *turisti* *što* *peeja.*
see.1Sg.Aor a.M.Sg bus tourists that sing.3Pl.Imperf
'I saw a bus of tourists that were singing.'

b. *Vidov* *eden* *avtobus* *turisti* *što* *beše*
see.3Sg.Imperf a.M.Sg bus turists that be.3Sg.Imperf
zatrupan *vo* *snegot.*
stuck.M.Sg.Pass.Part in snow+the.M.Sg
'I saw a bus of tourists that was stuck in the snow.'

9.2.3.5. In addition to their reading as quasi-quantifiers, some N1s can be interpreted as modifiers. Thus, the sentences in (40) can each have two readings (*cf.* Topolinjska 1974: 53):

(40) a. *Daj* *mi* *čaša* *voda.*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl glass water

1. 'Give me as much water as can be contained in a glass.'
2. 'Give me a glass in which there is water.'

b. *Dojdoa* *eskadron* *vojnici.*
come.3Pl.Aor squadron soldiers

1. 'There came as many soldiers as there are in a squadron.'
2. 'There came soldiers organized in a squadron.'

9.2.4. Nouns such as those in the structures listed and illustrated in section 9.2 are both heads. The N2 heads are lexical, while the N1 ones, with the exception of the quantifier nouns, which are quantifiers, are semi-lexical, since the classes to which they belong, have both functional and lexical features (*cf.* Emonds 1985: 155–246, 2001; Riemsdijk 1998, 2002).

9.2.5. Riemsdijk (1998) treats as semi-lexical heads not only nouns such as those listed in section 9.2 but also qualificational nouns to the left of proper names. Macedonian data, however, indicate that, while bare qualificational nouns, such as those in (41), can be treated as semi-lexical heads,[47] qualificational nouns with definite articles, such as those in (42) cannot.

(41) a. *Car* *Samuil*
tzar Samuil

'tzar Samuil'

b. *tetka* *Marija*
aunt Marija

'aunt Marija'

(42) a. *planetata* *Venera*
planet+the.F.Sg Venus

'the Planet Venus'

[47] The proper names can, alternatively, occur to the left of and modify the noun with the information for its topographic, economic or administrative character.

(i) *Kožuf* *planina* *e* *mnogu* *ubava.*
Kožuf mountain be.3Sg very beaufiful.F.Sg

'The Kožuf mountain is very beautiful.'

(42) b. *planinata* *Kožuf*
mountain+the.F.Sg Kožuf
'the mountain Kožuf'

c. *kneževstvoto* *Monako*
principality+the.N.Sg Monaco
'the principality Monaco'

d. *prugata* *Belgrad-Bar*
railway+the.F.Sg Belgrad-Bar
'the railway Belgrad-Bar'

9.2.5.1. The Macedonian qualificational nouns with definite articles to the left of proper names are actually heads of N1 + N2 expressions. As shown in (43), the doubling clitic of the direct object *planinata Kožuf* has to agree with the feminine singular qualificational noun N1 *planinata,* and not with the proper noun to its right, *Kožuf*, which is masculine singular.

(43) *Mnogu* *ja/* **go* *bendisuvame*
much 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl like.3Pl
planinata *Kožuf.*
mountain+the.F.Sg Kožu
'We like the mountain Kožuf very much.'

Chapter 6

Agreement Categories

1. Formal Markers of Relationships within the Nominal Phrase

The relationships between the members of the Macedonian nominal phrase are morphologically marked by exponents of three grammatical categories:[1] gender, number, and definiteness. The category of definiteness is morphologically represented only on the first immediate constituent of the nominal phrase. The categories of gender and number, on the other hand, are redundantly marked on the noun or noun equivalent and its determiners, quantifiers, and modifiers; they can conveniently be labeled "agreement categories," the label reflecting the formal agreement of the given constituents in gender and number.

2. Gender

The grammatical category of gender is a formal and conventional device[2] relating the constituents of a nominal phrase and thus marking the unity of the noun phrase. In Macedonian, it is inherent in nouns and pronouns, while in modifiers, determiners, and some quantifiers, it operates through agreement with the noun or noun equivalent.

2.1. Types of Gender

There are three types of gender in Macedonian: masculine, feminine, and neuter. The names of the types reflect an association between sex and gender. Yet, sex differentiation occurs only with respect to animate objects, while gender distinctions can be made in reference to all objects. As a matter of fact, one should distinguish between natural and grammatical gender. While the former is based on natural distinctions,

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[1] The term "category" derives from a Greek word which can otherwise be translated as "predication". In Aristotelian (and scholastic) philosophy, "categories" were the different ways or modes in which predication could be made of things; it was assumed that the different modes of predication represented differences in the objective world, the different modes of "being" (matter) and "signifying" (form). In contemporary linguistic theory, the term "category" is employed rather non-technically to denote any group of elements or notions which have uniform behavior in given aspects. We are here using this term to account for the morpho-phonological encoding of a number of formal properties which are manifested when the words interrelate.

[2] Thus, it is often the case that the same objects have different genders in different languages.

which basically are distinctions between the sexes, the latter is a formal device for showing relationships between individual sentential constituents (predominately between the ones of the noun phrase). In the case of [+ human] and some [+ animate] nouns, grammatical gender corresponds to natural gender, i.e., the formal devices marking gender with these nouns correspond to the sex of the person or living being to which the nouns refer.

2.1.1. Topolinjska (1974) argues that the three types of gender are hierarchically ordered—the neuter gender being unmarked, the feminine one most marked.

2.1.1.1. The unmarked status of the neuter gender is argued for through the very general reference of some of the pronouns that function as noun equivalents, namely *što* 'what' and its derivatives *nešto* 'something', *ništo* 'nothing', and *sešto* 'everything'.

2.1.1.2. The less marked status of the masculine gender, as compared to that of the feminine gender, is argued for through the fact that the pronouns *koj* 'who', *nekoj* 'somebody', *nikoj* 'nobody', *sekoj* 'everybody', which are referred to as [+masculine] pronouns, relate to human beings of both genders and have counterparts that relate only to human beings of feminine gender. Moreover, the masculine plural forms of agentive nouns refer to both males and females, whereas their feminine plural counterparts refer only to females. Thus, the noun *studentite* in (1a) refers to male and female students, whereas the noun *studentkite* in (1b) refers only to female students:[3]

(1) a. *Studentite* *baraat* *ušte* *edna* *ispitna*
students+the.Pl ask-for.3Pl more one.F.Sg exam.Adj.F.Sg
sesija.
period
'The students ask for another exam period.'

b. *Studentkite* *baraat* *ušte* *edna* *ispitna*
students.F+the.Pl ask-for.3Pl more one.F.Sg exam.Adj.F.Sg
sesija.
period
'The female students ask for another exam period.'

[3] Though, if the nouns *studentite* and *studentkite* are juxtaposed, as in (i), *studentite* refers only to male students:

(i) *Studentite* *se* *dojdeni,* *a* *studentkite* *ne* *se.*
students+the.Pl be.3Pl come.Pl.Pass.Part but students.F+the.Pl not be.3Sg
'The male students have come, but the female students have not.'

2.1.2. Friedman (2003: 192) argues that Macedonian can be described as having virile or animate gender distinctions. His argument is based on the fact that (a) animacy is distinguished by the use of special quantifiers for some male humans and mixed groups and (b) there are special oblique forms limited to nouns denoting male humans.

2.1.2.1. If we examine the phrases in (2), we shall see that there are two distinct quantifiers, one of which quantifies [–human] nouns, while the other quantifies [+human, +masculine] or [+human, ±masculine] ones.[4] In (3), on the other hand, both the [+human, –masculine] and the [–human, –masculine] nouns are quantified by the same quantifier:

(2) a. *dva* *moliva/* *volka*
two.M pencils.M.Pl wolves.M.Pl
'two pencils/wolves'

b. *dvajca* *maži*
two.Hum.M men
'two men'

c. *dvajcata/* *obajcata* *roditeli*
two.Hum.M+the.Pl both.Hum.M+the.Pl parents
'both parents'

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[4] Note, however, that this holds only for the quantifiers with the suffix *-ica/-jca*, which are used with numerals the final digit of which is 2, 3, or 4. The quantifiers ending with the suffix *-mina*, which are used with numerals that end on a high numeral (*cf.* section 4.1 in chapter 5, entitled "The Structure of the Nominal Phrase"), quantify only [+human, +male] nouns. As we see below, the noun *sudija* 'judge' is quantified by the quantifier *petmina* 'five+the.M.Pl' only when it denotes male judges; in all other cases, it is quantified by the quantifier *pette* 'five+the.Pl', which also quantifies the noun that denotes female judges:

(i) *petminata* *sudii*
five.Hum.M+the.Pl judges
'the five (male) judges'

(ii) *pette* *sudii*
five+the.Pl judges
'the five (male, female, or mixed (male and female) group of) judges'

(iii) *pette* *sudijki*
five+the.Pl judges.F.Sg
'the five (female) judges'

(3) a. *dve(te)* *knigi/* *sela*
two.F/N+the.F/N.Pl books.F.Pl villages.N.Pl
'(the) two books/villages'

b. *dve(te)* *ženi/* *deca*
two.F/N+the.F/N.Pl women children
'(the) two women/children'

2.1.2.2. In (4), we have feminine and masculine nouns in indirect object position; only the masculine ones have an Acc case marker:[5]

(4) a. *Mu* *dadov* *eden* *moliv* *na* *Stojana.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Aor a.M.Sg pencil.M to Stojan.Acc
'I gave a pencil to Stojan.'

b. *Ì* *dadov* *edna* *kniga* *na* *Marija.*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Aor a.F.Sg book.F to Marija
'I gave a book to Marija'.

2.2. Gender with Nouns

With nouns, gender differences are marked by different roots,[6] or/and by different suffixes.[7]

2.2.1. Whether the root of a noun is feminine or masculine does not depend on its phonological structure. In (5), we find several feminine/masculine pairs of nouns with minimally different phonological structure.[8] The different genders are made transparent through the choice of the definite article.[9]

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[5] Use of morphological case forms is discussed in section 3 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause".

[6] In most cases, the root nouns are primary words, though in some cases they represent some kind of back-formations. Thus, the noun *vlez* 'entry' is derived from the verb *vleguva* 'enter'.

[7] Historically, the different suffixes represent different noun classes. The addition of suffixes causes morpho-phonemic changes (*cf.* section 4 of chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology").

[8] The gender of the noun *prolet* 'spring' is particularly interesting. It is the only prefixation ending in *-let* which has feminine gender. All the other prefixations ending in *let*—e.g., *izlet* 'outing', *zalet* 'start', *nalet* 'encounter', *slet* 'descent'—are masculine.

Note that there are a number of root nouns that are masculine for some speakers and feminine for others; such are *kal* 'mud', *pamet* 'mind/intellect', *pepel* 'ash', *pesok* 'sand', *pot* 'sweat', *prav* 'dust', *sok* 'juice', *var* 'lime', *večer* 'evening', *žal* 'sorrow', *žar* 'ember/glow'. There are nouns (e.g., *den* 'day', *noḱ* 'night', *sud* 'law court', *reč* 'speech', *raskoš* 'abundance', *stepen*

(5)

a_1	*reč-ta* speech+the.F.Sg 'the speech'		a_2	*mleč-ot* milt+the.M.Sg 'the milt'
b_1	*krv-ta* blood+the.F.Sg 'the blood'		b_2	*crv-ot* worm+the.M.Sg 'the worm'
c_1	*sol-ta* salt+the.F.Sg 'the salt'		c_2	*kol-ot* stick+the.M.Sg 'the stick'
d_1	*prolet-ta* spring+the.F.Sg 'the spring'		d_2	*polet-ot* ardor+the.M.Sg 'the ardor'

2.2.2. As shown in (6), natural gender differences relating to family members are expressed by different roots, and by marking the feminine nouns with the suffix *–a*— a portmanteau morpheme which also represents singular number.

(6)

a_1	*maž* 'man/husband'		a_2	*žena* 'woman/wife'
b_1	*brat* 'brother'		b_2	*sestra* 'sister'
c_1	*sin* 'son'		c_2	*ḱerka* 'daughter'
d_1	*vnuk* 'grandson'		d_2	*vnuka* 'granddaughter'
e_1	*zet* 'son/brother-in-law'		e_2	*snaa* 'daughter/sister-in-law'

2.2.3. *-a* is actually the most typical marker of nouns with feminine gender; it marks human or non-human, animate or inanimate, common or proper, concrete or abstract primary nouns.

'degree', *život* 'life') which in the standard dialect are masculine but in various non-standard dialects are feminine, just as there are nouns (e.g., *nadež* 'hope') which in the standard dialect are feminine, but in some non-standard dialects may be masculine.

[9] A close examination of the nouns in (5) shows that there is no particular reason why the nouns of the first row are feminine, while those of the second row are masculine.

(7) a. *Lea*
'Lea'

b. *muva*
'fly'

c. *masa*
'table'

d. *kuќa*
'house'

e. *zemja*
'earth'

f. *dzvezda*
'star'

g. *sila*
'force'

2.2.3.1. The phoneme representing the feminine gender marker *-a*, /a/, is the final phoneme of feminine nouns derived by the de-verbal, de-nominal, or de-adjectival suffixes *-ka, -ba, -ica, -ština, -ana, -ina, -ota, -ija:*

(8) a_1 *merka* (de-verbal derivation from *meri* 'measure')
'measure'

a_2 *selidba* (de-verbal derivation from *seli* 'move')
'moving'

b_1 *bradavica* (de-nominal derivation from *brada* 'chin')
'wart'

b_2 *pilana* (de-nominal derivation from *pila* 'saw')
'sawmill'

b_3 *pladnina* (de-nominal derivation from *pladne* 'noon')
'rest (at noon)'

c_1 *dobrota* (de-adjectival derivation from *dobar* 'good')
'goodness'

c_2 *gnasotija* (de-adjectival derivation from *gnasen* 'dirty')
'dirt/foulness'

c_3 *ubavina* (de-adjectival derivation from *ubav* 'beautiful')
'beauty'

2.2.3.2. The feminine suffixes *-ka* and *-ica*, which also end on the phoneme /a/, are added to quite a number of masculine agentive de-verbal nouns ending in *-ar, -ač, -tel, -nik, -lec.*[10] Thus, we have the following pairs of masculine and feminine nouns:

[10] Not all nouns with these suffixes are agentive. Thus, *knižarnica* 'bookstore' and *mesarnica* 'butcher's shop' denote locations where books or meat are being sold, whereas *slušač* has the meaning 'auditor' or 'listening device' and *slušalka* means 'stethoscope/telephone receiver/ earphone'.

(9)	a_1	*stražar* 'guard.M.Sg'	a_1	*stražarka* 'guard.F.Sg'
	b_1	*pitač* 'beggar'	b_2	*pitačka* 'beggar.F.Sg'
	c_1	*pisatel* 'writer'	c_2	*pisatelka* 'writer.F.Sg'
	d_1	*zatvorenik* 'prisoner'	d_2	*zatvorenica/ zatvorenička* 'prisoner.F.Sg'
	e_1	*stradalec* 'sufferer'	e_2	*stradalnica* 'sufferer.F.Sg'

2.2.3.3. There are a number of [+human] nouns with natural masculine gender with suffixes that end on *-a*. Examples:[11]

(10)	a.	*vladika* 'bishop'	d.	*falbadžija* 'boaster'
	b.	*sudija* 'judge'	e.	*mušterija* 'customer'
	c.	*sluga* 'servant'	f.	*avtobusčija* 'bus driver'

2.2.4. The masculine nouns typically end on a consonant. In some cases these consonants are parts of the root of the noun. We, however, have many more suffixed masculine nouns ending in a consonant. Some of these nouns have been mentioned in section 2.2.3.2. We shall here give examples of masculine nouns with the de-adjectival and de-nominal suffix *-nik*, the de-nominal suffixes *-ar*, and *-in* and the de-verbal suffix *-ež*:

Note also that the feminine suffix *-ka* can be added to masculine proper nouns ending in a consonant to derive feminine proper nouns:

(i)	*Stojan*	(i')	*Stojanka*
(ii)	*Milan*	(ii')	*Milanka*
(iii)	*Jordan*	(iii')	*Jordanka*

[11] Some of these nouns have correspondent nouns of feminine gender. For example:

(i). *sluga* 'servant' (i') *sluginka* 'female servant'

There are also [+human] nouns ending in *-a*, such as *rodnina* 'relative' or *pijanica* 'drunkard', which can be either masculine or feminine.

(11) a_1 *bednik* (from *beden* 'poor')
'poor man'

a_2 *patnik* (from *pat* 'road')
'traveller'

b. *ribar* (from *riba* 'fish')
'fisherman'

c. *gostin* (from *gosti* 'guests')
'guest'

d_1 *bakněž* (from *bakne* 'kiss')
'kiss'

d_2 *kopněž* (from *kopnee* 'long/yearn')
'longing/yearning'

2.2.4.1. There are masculine nouns ending in a consonant with suffixes of Greek or Latin origin, such as those in (12), which entered the language along with the nouns in which they occur:

(12) a. *telefon* (a noun of Greek origin)
'telephone'

b. *komunizam* (a noun of Latin and Greek origin (*commun-* is from Latin, *-ismos* from Greek)
'communism'

c. *student* (a noun of Latin origin)
'student'

2.2.4.2. A relatively small number of suffixed nouns ending in a consonant are feminine. Most numerous among them are de-adjectival nouns with the suffix *-ost*, such as those in (13):

(13) a. *slabost* (from *slab* 'weak')
'weakness'

b. *smelost* (from *smel* 'brave')
'bravery'

c. *upornost* (from *uporen* 'persistent')
'persistence'

d. *milost* (from *mil* 'dear')
'mercy'

(13) c. *mladost* (from *mlad* 'young')
'youth'

2.2.5. Nouns of neuter gender are typically marked by vowels, most often by *-e* or *-o*[12]—portmanteau morphemes which, like the feminine suffix *-a*, express singular number as well:

(14) a. *dete*
'child'

b. *jagne*
'lamb'

c. *selo*
'village'

d. *delo*
'deed'

2.2.5.1. The typical neuter gender markers /e/ and /o/ are the final phonemes of many suffixed neuter nouns—in particular, of neuter nouns derived by the suffixes, *-stvo, -nje,* or *-nie,* [13] which operate in abstract nouns,[14] the suffix *-ište*, which often operates

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[12] With [+human] nouns ending in *-o*, such as *tatko* 'father', *dedo* 'grandfather' or *vujko* 'uncle', with proper nouns ending in *-o,* such as *Petko* or *Trajko* (which historically were diminutives), and with personified names of animals ending in *-o*, such as *volčo* '(mister) wolf', the natural masculine gender prevails. There is one noun ending in *-a, doba* 'time/period' which is of neuter gender. In greetings, the feminine noun *večer* 'evening' is of neuter gender and forms a single phonological word with the noun, with antepenultimate stress:

(i) *DoBRO* *večer!*
good.N.Sg evening
'Good evening!'

[13] The suffix *-nie* had been introduced in written Macedonian in the 19th or early 20th centuries under the influence of Russian and Bulgarian, but during the standardization in the middle of the 20th century was to a great extent replaced by the suffixes *-nje, -va, -ok, -ba, -stvo*, or else by a zero suffix (*cf.* Tomić 2000b). Examples:

(i) *dviženie → dviženje* 'movement'
(ii) *pojavlenie → pojava* 'phenomenon'
(iii) *vpečatlenie → vpečatok* 'impression'
(iv) *položenie → položba* 'situation' by
(v) *tečenie → tek* 'course'

Yet, *-nie* is still used in nouns with the same roots with different meanings. Thus, we have the following pairs:

(vi') *obrazovanie* 'education' (vi") *obrazuvanje* 'formation'
(vii') *rešenie* 'decision' (vii") *rešavanje* 'deciding'

[14] These nouns are predominantly de-verbal suffixations, but as shown in (i) and (ii), they can also be de-nominal or de-adjectival:

as an augmentative suffix, the diminutive suffixes *-če, -ule, -ence,* and the pejorative suffix *-le.*[15]

(15) a. *predavstvo* (from *predava* 'betray')
'betrayal'

b. *plivanje* (from *pliva* 'swim')
'swimming'

c. *rešenie* (from *reši* 'solve')
'solution'

(16) a. *bratče* (from *brat* 'brother')
'brother.Dim'

b. *detule* (from *dete* 'child')
'child.Dim'

c. *pilence* (from *pile* 'chicken')
'chicken.Dim'

(17) a. *ognište* (from *ogan* 'fire')
'fireplace'

b. *ženište* (from *žena* 'woman')
'woman.Aug'

c. *kučište* (from *kuče* 'dog')
'dog.Aug'

(18) *nosle* (from *nos* 'nose')
'snout'

2.2.6. The plural form of the majority of nouns of neuter gender is marked by the suffix *-a*—a portmanteau morpheme denoting neuter gender and plural number, while

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(i) *graġanstvo* (from *grad* 'city')
'citizenship'

(ii) *bogatstvo* (from *bogat* 'rich')
'wealth'

[15] The suffixations with diminutive, augmentative, and pejorative suffixations are de-nominal. Nouns with the pejorative suffixes *-ko* and *-lo* are masculine:

(i) *Ti si eden močko/močlo.* (derived from *moč* 'urine')
you be.2Sg a.M.Sg squirt.M.Sg
'You are a little squirt.'

the plural form of most nouns of both feminine and masculine gender is marked by the suffix *-i*:[16]

(19) *Vo ovie sela ima mnogu poveḱe maži,*
in these villages.N.Pl have.3Sg many more men.M/F.Pl
otkolku ženi.
than women.F/M.Pl
'In these villages there are many more men than women.'

2.2.6.1. The plural form of a noun can have distinct masculine or distinct feminine gender markers. Cases in point are the so-called "augmented" plurals of masculine nouns (*cf.* 3.1.1.2 below) and the plurals of the feminine nouns *noga* 'leg/foot' and *raka* 'hand/arm' (*cf.* 3.1.1.1 below).

2.2.6.2. There is also a distinct neuter plural—the "augmented" neuter plural ending—*inja* (*cf.* 3.1.1.5 below).

2.2.7. As we have seen, nouns ending in a consonant are typically masculine, nouns ending in the vowel *-a* are typically feminine, whereas nouns ending in vowels other than *a* are typically neuter. With nouns referring to human beings, however, the type of gender markers does not always relate to natural gender.

2.2.7.1. The proper names *Metodija, Metodij, Metodi,* and *Meto*, which refer to male persons, are nouns of masculine gender, while the proper names *Marija* and *Meri*, which refer to female persons, are nouns of feminine gender, regardless of their endings. The proper names *Mirče* and *Lenče*, on the other hand, are treated as nouns of masculine, feminine, or neuter gender, depending in whether they refer to males, females, or children, regardless of the fact that they have a typically neuter ending (*cf.* Minova-Ǵurkova 2000: 33)

(20) a. *mojot Mirče*
my+the.M.Sg Mirče
'my Mirče'

b. *mojata Mirče*
my+the.F.Sg Mirče
'my Mirče'

[16] Topolinjska (1974: 43) suggests that nouns with *-i* plural suffixes could be referred to as nouns of [–neuter] gender.

(20) c. *moeto* *Mirče*
my+the.N.Sg Mirče
'my Mirče'

2.2.7.2. The natural gender of recently introduced nouns referring to human beings correspond, as a rule, to the typicality of the ending. Thus, the nouns *stranka* 'party', *persona* 'person', and *individua* 'individual' are always nouns of feminine gender, though they can refer to feminine or masculine persons.

(21) *ovaa/* **ovoj* *persona*
this.F.Sg this.M.Sg person
'this person'

2.3. Gender with Pronouns

With pronouns, gender is both very relevant and very general and is, accordingly, represented by portmanteau function words, which, in addition to the grammatical category gender, represent other grammatical categories. [17]

2.3.1. The personal pronouns for first and second person (singular or plural) do not have exponents of the category of gender. The sex of the referents can, however, often transpire through agreement with adjectives or participles in the predicate:

(22) *Jas* *ne* *sum* *gladna.*
I not be.1Sg hungry.F.Sg
'I am not hungry.'

2.3.2. The three distinct personal pronouns for third person singular refer to distinct persons. There are cases, however, when they may relate to formally analogous nouns that refer to different persons. Thus, both *toj* 'he.M.Sg' and *toa* 'he.N.Sg' can refer to the noun *momče* 'boy' (*cf.* Minova-Ǵurkova 2000: 33), but when *toj* is used the noun refers to a grown up person, whereas when *toa* is used it refers to a kid.

(23) a. *Sretnav* *edno* *momče.*
meet.1Sg.Aor a.N.Sg boy
'I met a boy.'

[17] All the features of pronouns, including gender, are discussed in chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

(23) b. *Toj/* *toa* *me* *pozdravi.*
he.M.Sg he.N.Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl greet.3Sg.Aor
'He greeted me.'

2.4. Gender with Modifiers, Determiners, and Quantifiers

The gender markers of the modifiers, determiners, and quantifiers are derived through agreement with nouns or noun equivalents. Traditionally, generative grammars have posited agreement phrases within the NP (noun phrase) or DP (determiner phrase), through which gender and number agreement was effectuated. Current analyses, however, assume that all the formal features of the head of the phrase percolate to the maximal phrase and then trickle down to the other constituents.

2.4.1. The Macedonian modifiers, as a rule, have three distinct forms reflecting agreement with masculine singular, feminine singular, and neuter singular noun or noun equivalent, and one single form reflecting agreement with plural noun or noun equivalent of any gender.[18] The form signaling agreement with masculine singular nouns or noun equivalents is suffix-less, the form signaling agreement with feminine singular nouns or noun equivalents has the suffix *-a*, the form signaling agreement with neuter singular nouns or noun equivalents has the suffix *-o* or *-e*, while the form signaling agreement with plural nouns or noun equivalents of all genders has the suffix *-i*. Examples:[19]

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[18] Accordingly, with plural modifiers the gender distinctions are not marked. Note, however, that there are modifiers—most of them of foreign origin—which can appear in the same form with nouns of any gender or number. Such are, for example, the adjective *taze* 'fresh', of Turkish origin, and the adjective *drap* 'beige', of French origin:

(i') *taze* *ǵevrek*
fresh bagel.M.Sg
'a freshly-baked bagel'

(i'') *taze* *ǵevreci*
fresh bagels.M.Pl
'freshly-baked bagels'

(ii) *taze* *kifla*
fresh roll.F.Sg
'a freshly-baked roll'

(ii') *taze* *kifli*
fresh rolls.F.Pl
'freshly-baked rolls'

(iii) *drap* *fustan*
beige dress.M.Sg
'a beige dress'

(iii') *drap* *fustani*
beige dresses.M.Pl
'beige dresses'

(iv) *drap* *bluza*
beige blouse.F.Sg
'a beige blouse'

(iv') *drap* *bluzi*
beige blouses.F.Pl
'beige blouses'

[19] Many (but not all) masculine adjectives in which the final consonant is preceded by the vowels *-e*, *-o*, or *-a* lose that vowel when the feminine, neuter, or plural suffix is added. Thus we have :

(24) a. *Toj e naš dobar star prijatel.*
He be.3Sg our.M.Sg good.M.Sg old.M.Sg friend.M.Sg
'He is a good, old friend of ours.'

b. *Taa e naša dobra stara prijatelka.*
she be.3Sg our.F.Sg good.F.Sg old.F.Sg friend.F.Sg
'She is a good, old friend of ours.'

c. *Toa e naše dobro prijatelče.*
It be.3Sg our.N.Sg good.N.Sg friend.N.Sg
'(S)he is a good, little/darling friend of ours.'

d. *Tie se naši dobri stari prijateli.*
they be.3Pl our.Pl good.Pl old.Pl friends.M/F.Pl
'They are good, old friends of ours.'

e. *Tie se naši dobri prijatelčinja.*
they be.3Pl our.Pl good.Pl friends.N.Pl
'They are good, little/darling friends of ours.'

2.4.2. The determiners also have four distinct forms—a masculine singular, a feminine singular, a neuter singular, and a common plural form.

2.4.2.1. The basic deictic determiners have the suffix *-oj* if masculine singular, *-aa* if feminine singular, *-oa* if neuter singular, and *-ie* if plural.

2.4.2.2. The determiners *eden* 'one/a' and *nieden* 'no/not one' are suffix-less when masculine singular, and have the suffixes *-a* when feminine singular and *-o* when neuter singular, while the determiner *koj* 'which' and its derivatives *sekoj* 'each/every' and *nikoj* 'no' have the suffixes *-a* when feminine singular, *-e* when neuter singular. All the determiners have one single marker for the plurals of all genders—*-i*.

(i)	*dobar* 'good.M.Sg'	*dobra* 'good.F.Sg'	*dobro* 'good.N.Sg'	*dobri* 'good.Pl'
(ii)	*silen* 'strong.M.Sg'	*silna* 'strong.F.Sg'	*silno* 'strong.N.Sg'	*silni* 'strong.Pl'
(iii)	*plitok* 'shallow.M.Sg'	*plitka* 'shallow.F.Sg'	*plitko* 'shallow.N.Sg'	*plitki* 'shallow.Pl'
(iv)	*podol* 'base.M.Sg'	*podla* 'base.F.Sg'	*podlo* 'base.N.Sg'	*podli* 'base.Pl'
(v)	*zelen* 'green.M.Sg'	*zelena* 'green.F.Sg'	*zeleno* 'green.N.Sg'	*zeleni* 'green.Pl'
(vi)	*širok* 'wide.M.Sg'	*široka* 'wide.F.Sg'	*široko* 'wide.N.Sg'	*široki* 'wide.Pl'

(25) a. *eden/ nieden/ sekoj/ nikoj/ koj čovek*
a/some.M.Sg/ no.M.Sg/ every.M.Sg/ no.M.Sg/ which.M.Sg man.M.Sg
'a/some/no/every/no/which man'

b. *edna/ niedna/ sekoja/ nikoja/ koja žena*
a/some.F.Sg/ no.F.Sg/ every.F.Sg/ no.F.Sg/ which.F.Sg woman.M.Sg
'a/some/no/every/no/which woman'

c. *edno/ niedno/ sekoe/ nikoe/ koe dete*
a/some.N.Sg/ no.N.Sg/ every.N.Sg/ no.N.Sg/ which.N.Sg child.N.Sg
'a/some/no/every/no/which child'

d. *edni/ nikoi/ koi luǵe/ ženi/ deca*
some.N.Sg/ no.N.Sg/ which.N.Sg people/ women/ children
'some/no/which people/women/children'

2.4.3. The quantifiers derived by adding articles to the roots *se* and *cel*[20] have the forms that the articles have.[21] The lower quantifiers show gender distinctions only in some cases.

2.4.3.1. The numeral *eden* 'one', which is phonologically equivalent to the determiner *eden* 'a/some' has distinct forms for masculine, feminine, and neuter gender and a general plural form, which is used only with *pluralia tantum* nouns (*cf.* section 4.1.4 below):

(26) a. *eden nož*
one.M.Sg knife.M.Sg
'one knife'

b. *edna lažica*
one.F.Sg spoon.F.Sg
'one spoon'

c. *edno šiše*
one.N.Sg bottle.N.Sg
'one bottle'

d. *edni nožici*
one.Pl scissors.Pl.Tant
'one pair of scissors'

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[20] *Cf.* section 3.1 in chapter 5, entitled "The Structure of the Nominal Phrase".

[21] *Cf.* section 2.1 in chapter 7, entitled "The Category of Definiteness and Articles".

2.4.3.2. The numeral *dva* 'two' has a distinct masculine gender form,[22] and a common feminine and neuter form:

(27) a. *dva* *noža*
two.M knives.M.Pl
'two knives'

b. *dve* *lažici*
two.F/N knives.F.Pl
'two spoons'

c. *dve* *šišinja*
two.F/N bottles.N
'two bottles'

3. Number

The category of number is related to the nature of the denotation of nouns. As argued by Chierchia (1998), for each category of nouns there is a choice for number marking, this including the default case of nouns referring to various kinds of substance or matter, which only have one form. Accordingly, it is feasible to assume that even in those languages where not only nouns but also determiners and modifiers have number markers, the category of number is semantically encoded on the noun or noun equivalent and occurs in determiners and modifiers through agreement with this noun. Bouchard (1998), however, puts out the proposal that there are languages, such as English, in which number is semantically encoded on the noun, and languages such as French, in which it is encoded on the determiner, and Dimitrova-Vulchanova (2002) argues that the Balkan languages, Macedonian among them, are of the French type. Dimitrova-Vulchanova bases her arguments on tests proposed by Bouchard (1998),[23] the results of three of which she finds convincing—(a) obligatoriness of overt number on articles, (b) the presence of the article in phrases with dropped nouns, and (c) the interpretation of coordinated phrases in which the article is present only on the first conjunct as singular phrases, versus the plural interpretation of coordinate phrases in which the article is present in both conjuncts as plural phrases. In (28) I am illustrating the tests on examples from Macedonian:

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[22] Note that all nouns of masculine gender have distinct "enumerative" plural forms (*cf.* section 3.1 below).

[23] The tests were based on previous proposals in the literature (e.g., Longobardi 1994).

(28) a_1 *ženata*
woman+the.F.Sg

a_2 *ženite*
women+the.F.Pl

b_1 *Ja* *odbra* *najubavata* *devojka.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl choose.3Sg.Pf.Pres Superl+beautiful+the.F.Sg girl
'(S)he chose the most beautiful girl.'

b_2 *Ja* *odbra* *najubavata.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl choose.3Sg.Pf.Pres Superl+beautiful+the.F.Sg
'(S)he chose the most beautiful one.'

c_1 *Drugarot* *od* *Ivana* *i* *profesor* *na* *Petreta*
friend+the.M.Sg of Ivan.Acc and professor of Petre.Acc
izčezna.
disappeared.3Sg.Aor
'Ivan's friend and Peter's colleague has disappeared.'

c_2 *Drugarot* *od* *Ivana* *i* *profesorot*
friend+the.M.Sg of Ivan.Acc and professor+the.M.Sg
na *Petreta* *izčeznaa.*
of Petre.Acc disappeared.3Pl.Aor
'Ivan's friend and Peter's colleague have disappeared.'

3.1. Types of Plural Number with Nouns

In addition to the general plural, the Macedonian common nouns may have two more types of plural number forms: enumerative and collective.[24] Whereas the general plural forms simply show that reference is made to a plurality of units, the enumerative plural forms communicate that the objects to which they refer can be enumerated and are, as a rule, used in noun phrases with compound numerals and paranumerals,[25]

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[24] As pointed out by Topolinjska (1974), the features [±plural], [±collective], [±enumerative] are hierarchically ordered, the [+plural] nouns being [±collective], the [–collective] ones [±enumerative].

[25] The rule for the use of enumerative plural markers with nouns quantified by numerals are not very strict. Even the number two can be followed by a noun with a general plural marker. The following examples are from Koneski (1967: 247):

(i) *So* *dva* *udari* *me* *kutna.*
with two punches.Gen.Pl 1Sg.Acc.Cl knock-down.3Sg.Aor
'With two punches he knocked me down.'

while the collective plural forms underline the common features of the units of the entity to which they relate.

3.1.1. The general plural markers occur with common nouns of any gender, whether animate or inanimate, concrete, or abstract.[26]

3.1.1.1. The general plural marker of the majority of disyllabic and polysyllabic nouns—nearly all nouns of feminine gender[27] and some masculine monosyllabic nouns, is *-i*:[28]

(29) a. *Imaše* *mnogu* *ženi* (from *žena* 'woman.F.Sg
be.3Pl.Imperf many women and *maž* 'man.M.Sg')
i *maži.*
and men
'There were many women and men.'

b. *Kupiv* *molivi* *i* (from *moliv* 'pencil.M.Sg'
buy.1Sg.Aor pencils and and *tetratka* 'notebook.F.Sg')
tetratki.
notebooks
'I bought pencils and notebooks.'

c. Vidov mnogu reki (from *reka* 'river.F.Sg'
see.1Sg.Aor many rivers and *most* 'bridge.M.Sg')
so mostovi.
with bridges
'I saw many rivers with bridges.'

3.1.1.2. Most monosyllabic and a few polysyllabic masculine nouns have so-called "augmented" general plurals ending in *-evi* or *-ovi*:[29]

(ii) *pred* *dva* *dena/* *dni*
before two days.Enum.Pl days.Gen.Pl
'two days ago'

[26] The nouns which can usually have plural markers are referred to as "countable" and are opposed to "mass" nouns, which usually cannot have plural markers.

[27] The feminine nouns *noga* 'leg/foot' and *raka* 'hand/arm' have distinct plurals—*noze* and *race*, respectively.

[28] As a rule, this marker is added to masculine nouns ending in a consonant, while with nouns ending in a vowel it replaces that vowel.

[29] The suffix *-evi* is less frequent. It occurs with nouns ending in the semi-vowel *-j* and with nouns ending in the dental consonants *t, d, s, z, c* or the alveo-palatal consonants *š, ž, č*, as an

(30) a. *boevi* (from *boj* 'battle.M.Sg')
'battles'

b. *broevi* (from *broj* 'number.M.Sg')
'numbers'

c. *ključovi* as well as *ključevi* (from *ključ* 'key.M.Sg')
'keys'

d. *kraevi* (from *kraj* 'region.M.Sg')
'regions'

e. *kursevi* as well as *kursovi* (from *kurs* 'course.M.Sg')
'courses'

f. *mrazovi* as well as *mrazevi* (from *mraz* 'frost.M.Sg')
'frosts'

g. *nožovi* as well as *noževi* (from *nož* 'knife.M.Sg')
'frosts'

h. *placovi* (from *plac* 'plot.M.Sg')
'plots'

i. *sudovi* (from *sud* 'law court.M.Sg')
'law courts'

j. *vetrovi* (from *vetar* 'wind.M.Sg')
'winds'

k. *vozovi* (from *voz* 'train.M.Sg')
'trains'

l. *zborovi* (from *zbor* 'word.M.Sg')
'words'

3.1.1.3. The following monosyllabic masculine nouns have general plurals with the suffix *-i*:[30]

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alternative to the suffix *-ovi* (*cf.* Koneski 1967: 252–53). It is interesting to note that new loan words also take the augmented ending *-ovi*. In the following example, *fri-* is treated as a modifier and *-šopovi* as a plural form of a monosyllabic noun:

(i) *fri-šopovi* (from *fri-šop* 'duty free shop.M.Sg')
'duti-free shops'

[30] There are a (limited) number of nouns that can form general plurals with *-i*, as well as with *-ovi*. Examples:

(i) *dni* *or* *denovi* (from *den* 'day.M.Sg')
'days'

(31) a. *bravi* (from *brav* 'wether.M.Sg')
'wethers'

b. *Česi* (from *Čex* 'Czech.M.Sg')
'Czechs'

c. *crvi* (from *crv* 'worm.M.Sg')
'worms'

d. *Grci* (from *Grk* 'a Greek.M.Sg')
'Greeks'

e. *konji* (from *konj* 'horse.M.Sg')
'horses'

f. *maži* (from *maž* 'man.M.Sg')
'men'

g. *prsti* (from *prst* 'finger/toe.M.Sg')
'fingers/toes'

h. *Vlasi* (from *Vlax* 'Vlah.M.Sg')
'Vlahs'

i. *vnuci* (from *vnuk* 'grandchild.M.Sg')
'grandchildren'

j. *volci* (from *volk* 'wolf.M.Sg')
'wolves'

k. *zabi* (from *zab* 'tooth.M.Sg')
'teeth'

3.1.1.4. Masculine nouns with the suffix *-in* and *-ec*, many of which denote belonging to certain nationality, religion, profession, region,[31] lose that suffix when the general plural marker *-i* is added:[32]

(ii) *orli* *or* *orlovi* (from *orel* 'eagle.M.Sg')
'eagles'

(iii) *raci* *or* *rakovi* (from *rak* 'crab.M.Sg')
'crabs'

(iv) *znaci* *or* *znakovi* (from *znak* 'sign.M.Sg')
'signs'

[31] There are other de-nominal and de-adjectival suffixations that are also derived by these suffixes. Examples:

(i) *domaќin* (from *dom* 'house.M.Sg.')
'master of the house'

(32)

a_1	*Srbin* 'Serb'	a_2	*Srbi* 'Serbs'
b_1	*hristijanin* 'Christian'	b_2	*hristijani* 'Christias'
c_1	*gostin* 'guest'	c_1	*gosti* 'guests'
d_1	*selanec* 'peasant'	d_2	*selani* 'peasants'
e_1	*skopjanec* 'citizen of Skopje'	e_2	*skopjani* 'citizens of Skopje'
f_1	*bitolčanec* 'citizen of Bitola'	f_2	*bitolčani* 'citizens of Bitola'

3.1.1.5. The majority of neuter nouns that in the singular end on *-o* have the general plural suffix *-a*,[33] whereas the majority of neuter nouns that in the singular end on *-e* have the general plural suffix *-inja*:[34]

(ii) *mrtovec* (from *mrtov* 'dead.M.Sg')
'a dead man'

(iii) *starec* (from *star* 'old.M.Sg')
'old man'

[32] The general plural form of *Makedonec* 'Macedonian.M.Sg', *Makedonci,* has kept the suffix, like the plurals of nouns ending in *-ec* that do not denote belonging to a certain nationality, religion, profession, region, such as:

(i) *obrasci* (from *obrazec* 'model.M.Sg')
'models'

(ii) *vrapci* (from *vrabec* 'sparrow.M.Sg.')
'sparrows'

Note that the noun *domaќin* 'master of the house.M.Sg' has a regular plural with *-i*:

(iii') *domaќin* 'master of the house' (iii") *domaќini* 'masters of the house'

[33] A recent loanword ending in *-e—ataše* 'attaché', which carries stress on the final syllable and is treated as a noun of masculine gender, has two general plural forms:

(i') *atašea* or (i'') *atašei*
'attachés'

Note, however, that there are recent loanwords ending in the vowels *-i* or *-o* which, like *ataše,* carry stress on the final syllable, but are always treated as nouns of neuter gender and take the "regular" neuter general plural marker *-a*:

(ii') *žiri* (ii") *žirija*
'jury' 'juries'

(33)	a_1	*selo* 'village'	a_2	*sela* 'villages'
	b_1	*vreteno* 'spindle'	b_2	*vretena* 'spindles'
	c_1	*leto* 'summer'	c_2	*leta* 'summers'
	d_1	*načelo* 'principle'	d_2	*načela* 'principles'
(34)	a_1	*pole* 'field'	a_2	*polinja* 'fields'
	b_1	*jagne* 'lamb'	b_2	*jagninja* 'lambs'
	c_1	*magare* 'donkey'	c_2	*magarinja* 'donkeys'
	d_1	*more* 'sea'	d_2	*morinja* 'seas'
	e_1	*ime* 'name'	e_2	*iminja* 'names'
	f_1	*šiše* 'bottle'	f_2	*šišinja* 'bottles'

(iii)	*nivo* 'level'	(iii")	*nivoa* 'levels'

[34] The augmentative plural *-inja* is used with neuter nouns ending in unstressed *-e*, if it is not preceded by *-c, -št, -i* or *-j*. Neuter nouns ending in *-ce, -ie, -nje, -ište* have general plurals with the suffix *-a*. Examples:

(i')	*lice* 'face'	(i")	*lica* 'faces'
(ii')	*zasedanie* 'session'	(ii")	*zasedanija* 'sessions'
(iii')	*prašanje* 'question'	(iii")	*prašanja* 'questions'
(iv')	*boište* 'battlefield'	(iv")	*boišta* 'battlefields'

The nouns *dete* 'child' and *srce* 'heart', in addition to *deca* and *srca,* respectively, have the plural forms *dečinja* and *srcinja.* The latter forms are forms of endearment.

The neuter noun *životno* 'animal' forms a general plural with the ending *-i, životni*, thus behaving like the nouns of feminine gender and the majority of disyllabic and polysyllabic nouns of masculine gender (*cf.* 3.1.1.1 above).

3.1.1.6. There are several irregular general plurals of nouns of neuter gender:

(35)	a_1	*oko* 'eye'	a_2	*oči* 'eyes'
	b_1	*uvo* 'ear'	b_2	*uši* 'ears'
	c_1	*ramo* 'shoulder'	c_2	*ramena* 'shoulders'
	d_1	*nebo* 'sky'	d_2	*nebesa* 'skies'
	e_1	*čudo* 'miracle'	e_2	*čudesa* 'miracles'

3.1.1.7. The morphological marker of general plurality can in marked environments occur with any noun. With concrete nouns referring to various kinds of substance or matter, referred to as "concrete mass nouns", it has the interpretation 'kinds of x' or 'servings of x',[35] with some abstract nouns which may be referred to as "abstract mass nouns" it has the interpretation 'subjects/objects of x',[36] while with proper nouns it has the interpretation 'x number of persons/objects with the name of y':

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[35] Though the concrete mass nouns in unmarked phrases do not have morphological markers of number, they do not refer to the totality of denotata of the named notion, but rather to a portion of it. The partitive reading is explicitly expressed with prepositional phrases:

(i) *Baram* *od* *brašnoto.*
look-for.1Sg from flour+the.N.Sg
'I am looking for some of the flour.'

(ii) *Dajte* *mi* *od* *šeќerot!*
give.2Pl.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl from sugar+the.M.Sg
'Give me some of the sugar!'

[36] Some abstract nouns may take plural markers for expressive purposes:

(i) *od* *rani* *zori*
from early.Pl dawn.F.Pl
'from the breaking of dawn'

(ii) *Raboti* *od* *zori* *do* *mrakovi.*
work.3Sg from dawn.F.Pl to darkness.M.Pl
'He works from early morning till late night.'

(iii) *so* *trista* *stravovi*
with three-hundred fear.M.Pl
'with great fear'

Very often, the abstract nouns that take plural markers have a distinct reading. Thus, the masculine singular noun *bratstvo* (with the de-nominal suffix *-stvo*) has the readings 'brother-

(36) a_1 *Imame* *razni* *oboeni* *stakla.*
have.1Pl different.Pl colored.Pl glass.N.Pl
'We have different kinds of colored glass.'

a_2 *Dajte* *mi* *nekolku* *kafinja.*
give.2Pl.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl several coffee.N.Pl
'Give me several cups of coffee.'

b_1 *Ne* *zboruvam* *za* *moite* *ljubovi.*
not speak.1Sg for my+the.Pl love.F.Pl
'I am not speaking about my love affairs.'

b_2 *Nemam* *videno* *vakvi* *ubavini.*
not+have.1Sg seen.N.Sg.Past.Part this-kind.Pl beauty.F.Pl
'I haven't seen things so beautiful.'

c_1 *Vo* *seloto* *ima* *trojca*
in village+the.N.Sg have.3Sg three
Stojanovci.
people-by-the-name-of-Stojan.M.Pl
'In the village, there are three persons by the name of Stojan.'

c_2 *Site* *Olgi* *se* *takvi.*
all Olga.F.Pl be.3Pl such.Pl
'All the persons with the name of Olga are such.'

c_3 *Nemame* *drugi* *Makedonii.*
not+have.1Pl other.Pl Macedonia.F.Pl
'We do not have other countries such as Macedonia.'

3.1.1.8. The general plural markers of masculine proper names and nouns denoting family relationship is *-vci.*[37]

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hood' and 'fraternity' and only with the second reading it can be pluralized. Verbal nouns with the suffix *-nje* take plural endings only when they develop a secondary, often more concrete meaning. For example, the noun *jadenje* 'kind of food/eating' (from the verb *jade* 'eat') can be pluralized with the reading 'kind of food' but not with the reading 'eating'.

[37] The plurals of masculine proper nouns may also refer to the members of a family:

(i) *Petrevci* *živeat* *na* *krajot* *na* *seloto.*
'the family of Petre.M.Pl' live.3Pl at end+the.M.Sg of village+the.N.Sg
'The family of Petre lives at the end of the village.'

(37) a, *Petrevci* (from the proper name *Petre*)
'people by the name of Petre'

b. *Stojanovci* (from the proper name *Stojan*)
'people by the name of Stojan'

c. *tatkovci* (from the name *tatko* 'father.M.Sg')
'fathers'

d. *vujkovci* (from the noun *vujko* 'uncle.M.Sg')
'uncles'

3.1.1.9. Nouns denoting a collective unity of referents, such as *narod* with the reading 'people' (but not with the reading 'nation'), *svet* with the reading 'people' (but not with the reading 'world'), *učitelstvo* 'teaching body', *maštija* 'a body of men', *čelad* 'offspring', do not take any plural markers.[38]

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[38] These nouns, as a rule, have singular agreement with modifiers or verbs.

(i) *Dojde* *mnogu* *razen* *narod.*
come.3Sg.Aor much different.M.Sg people
'A lot of different people came.'

In some dialects, however, there is plural agreement. The following examples are from Koneski (1967: 221):

(ii) *%Poradi* *parite* *narodot* *go*
because-of money+the.Pl people+the.M.Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
kopale *buništeto.*
dig.Pl.*l*-Part garbage-dump+the.N.Sg
'Because of the money people were digging the garbage.'

(iii) *%Čelad* *tvoi* *što* *ќe* *ti* *se* *rodat*
offspring your.Pl that will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl bear.3Pl
'Your offspring that will be born…'

(iv) *%Videte* *gi* *svetot* *što* *si* *ja*
see.2Pl.Imper 2Pl.Acc.Cl people+the.M.Sg that Dat.Refl.Cl 3Sg.Acc.Cl
gledat *rabotata!*
see.3Pl work+the.F.Sg
'See the people that are taking care of their own affairs!'

Note that collective unity can be represented by using countable nouns in the singular instead of in the plural:

(v) *Kaj* *se* *najde* *olku* *skakulec?!*
where Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg.Aor this-much grasshopper
'Wherefrom so many grasshoppers?!'

(vi) *Mu* *pomina* *carstvoto* *i* *na* *Turčinot.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl pass.3Sg.Aor empire+the.N.Sg and to Turk+the.M.Sg
'Even the rule of the Turks has ended.'

3.1.1.10. Diminutives ending in *-ec*, such as *listec* 'leaf.Dim' do not occur in the plural.[39]

3.1.2. Enumerative plurals are marked by the suffix *–a* and, as a rule, occur with masculine nouns that also have general plural markers.[40] Examine the plurals of the bi-syllabic nouns *student* 'student.M.Sg', *moliv* 'pencil.M.Sg', and *predlog* 'proposal.M.Sg' in the following pairs of sentences:[41]

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[39] Note that all other diminutives have plurals. Example:

(i) *liščinja* 'leaves.Dim.Pl' (from *lišče* 'leaf.Dim.Sg')

Also note that the diminutive suffix *-ence* is actually itself added to diminutives. Thus, *petlence* 'rooster.Dim' is derived by adding *-ence* to the diminutive *petle* 'rooster.Dim'.

[40] The neuter noun *oko* 'eye' also has an enumerative plural form, *oka*, distinct from the general plural form *oči*. Note also that the enumerative plural form of the noun *brat* 'brother', *braća*, has become a general plural marker for this noun.

[41] Koneski (1967: 247–48) notes that the enumerative plural is used with lower numerals more frequently than with higher ones and with monosyllabic words more frequently than with polysyllabic ones.

Nouns post-modifying other nouns, as a rule, have general plural markers even when the modified noun is preceded by a numeral:

(i) *dva sina bliznaci*
two sons.Enum.Pl twins.Gen.Pl
'twin sons'

According to Koneski (1967: 149), the occurrence of an adjective between the numeral and the noun leads to alternative uses of the type of plural. Thus, we have phrases such as (ii–iii), where the noun preceded by a numeral and an adjective has a general plural marker, and phrases like (iv–v), where the noun preceded by a numeral and an adjective has an enumerable plural marker:

(ii) *dva mladi junaci*
two young.Pl heroes.Gen.Pl
'two young heroes'

(iii) *tri mladi oračи*
three young.Pl plowmen.Gen.Pl
'three young plowmen'

(iv) *dva crni ogna*
two black.Pl fires.Enum.Pl
'two black fires'

(v) *tri golemi krsta*
three big.Pl crosses.Enum.Pl
'three big crosses'

Note that the paranumerals to the left of the nouns with general plural markers are relative quantifiers. Thus, *mnogu* 'many' and *malku* 'few' move along a scale bisected at a point which might be qualified as a subjective average. *Mnogu* 'many' actually means 'more than what is subjectively taken to be the average', while *malku* 'few' means 'less than what is subjectively

(38) a_1 *Dojdoa* *mnogu* *studenti.*
come.3Pl.Aor many students.Gen.Pl
'Many students came.'

a_2 *Dojdoa* *pet* *studenta.*
come.3Pl.Aor five students.Enum.Pl
'Five students came.'

b_1 *Kupiv* *mnogu* *molivi.*
buy.1Sg.Aor many pencils.Gen.Pl
'I bought many pencils.'

b_2 *Kupiv* *dva* *moliva.*
buy.1Sg.Aor two pencils.Enum.Pl
'I bought two pencils.'

c_1 *Razgleduvame* *nekolku* *predlozi.*
examine.1Pl several proposals.Gen.Pl
'We are examining several proposals.'

c_2 *Razgleduvame* *tri* *predloga.*
examine.1Pl three proposals.Enum.Pl
'We are examining three proposals.'

3.1.3. Distinct collective plural forms occur, most often, with nouns of masculine gender and are marked by the suffix *-je.*[42]

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taken to be the average'. This subjective relativity is in accordance with the general plural markers on the noun or noun equivalent.

[42] The collective plural of the obsolete noun **lud, luǵe* 'people', is used as a suppletive plural for the noun *čovek* 'man', whose regular plural *%čoveci* 'men' is used only in the southeastern Macedonian dialects. The collective plural of the noun *list* 'leaf', *lisje,* has a distinct meaning from the general plural *listovi*:

(i) *Drvoto* *ima* *mlado* *lisje.*
tree+the.N.Sg have.3Sg young.N.Sg leaves.Coll.Pl
'The tree has new leaves.'

(ii) *Knigata* *ima* *mnogu* *listovi.*
book+the.F.Sg have.3Sg many pages.Gen.Pl
'The book has many pages.'

For the noun *trn* 'thorn.M.Sg', the collective plural *trnje* is the only plural. The collective plural form of the noun *cvet* 'bloom.M.Sg', *cveḱe* has lost its plural meaning and has acquired the meaning 'flower/plant', whose plural *cveḱinja* 'flowers/plants' is distinct from the plural *cvetovi* 'blooms'.

3.1.3.1. As shown in (39), where we have examples of the use of all three types of plurals, the difference in the usage of general and collective plural forms is minimal:

(39) a. *Žitoto* *beše* *vrzano*
grain+the.N.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf bound.N.Sg.Pass.Part
vo (nekolku) *snopovi.*
in several sheaves.Gen.Pl
'The grain was bound in several sheaves.'

b. *Žitoto* *beše* *vrzano*
grain+the.N.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf bound.N.Sg.Pass.Part
*vo (*nekolku)* *snopje.*
in several sheaves.Coll.Pl
'The grain was bound in sheaves.'

c. *Žitoto* *beše* *vrzano*
grain+the.N.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf bound.N.Sg.Pass.Part
vo deset snopa.
in ten sheaves.Enum.Pl
'The grain was bound in ten sheaves.'

3.1.3.2. In addition to the common suffix for collective plurals *-je*, there are nouns that have collective plural forms with the suffixes *-išta* and *-ja*.[43] Examples:

(iii) *Sé* *što* *mirisa* *ne* *e* *cveḱe.*
everything that smell.3Sg not be.3Sg flower/plant
'All that glitters is not gold.' (lit. 'All that smells is not flower.')

(iv) *Vo* *cveḱarnicata* *imaše* *razni* *cveḱinja.*
in flowershop+the.F.Sg have.3Sg.Imperf different.Pl flowers/plants
'There were different plants in the flower shop.'

(v) *Na* *edna* *granka* *imaše* *mogu* *cvetovi.*
on one.F.Sg bough have.3Sg.Imperf many blooms
'There were many blooms on one bough.'

[43] Some collective plural forms have prevailed and are used as general plural forms of respective nouns. Cases in point are *patišta*—the plural of *pat* 'road.M.Sg' and *soništa*—the plural of *son* 'dream.M.Sg'.

Note that the plural with *-išta* can be pejorative. Compare (i) to (ii):

(i) *Žitoto* *beše* *vrzano* *vo* *snopovi.*
grain+the.N.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf bound.N.Sg.Pass.Part in sheaves.Gen.Pl
'The grain was bound in sheaves.'

(40) a. *kupišta* (from *kup* 'heap.M.Sg';
'heaps.Coll.Pl' general plural *kupovi*)

b. *kraišta* (from *kraj* 'region.M.Sg';
'regions.Coll.Pl' general plural *kraevi*)

c. *drvja* (from *drvo* 'tree.N.Sg'; general
'trees.Coll.Pl' as well as enumerative plural *drva*)

3.1.3.3. While the collective plural forms with the suffix *-išta* have plural agreement both within the nominal phrase and within the clause, the collective plural forms with the suffix *-je*, most often, have singular agreement within the noun phrase[44] but plural agreement with the predicate:

(41) a_1 *Toj* *e* *od* *našite* *kraišta.*
he be.3Sg from our+the.Pl regions.Coll.Pl
'He comes from our region.'

a_2 *Našite* *kraišta* *se* *mnogu* *ubavi.*
our+the.Pl regions.Coll.Pl be.Pl very beautiful.Pl
'Our region is very beautiful.'

b_1 *Veterot* *go* *noseše*
wind+the.M.Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl carry.3Sg.Imperf
lisjeto/ *požoltenoto* *lisje.*
leaves.Coll.Pl+the.N.Sg yellowed.Pass.Part+the.N.Sg leaves.Coll.Pl
'The wind carried the leaves/the yellowed leaves.'

b_2 *Lisjeto* *se* *veḱe* *požolteni.*
leaves.Coll.Pl+the.N.Sg be.3Pl already yellowed.Pass.Part.Pl
'The leaves have already yellowed.'

(ii) *Tamu* *ležea* *nekolku* *snopišta* *žito.*
there lie.3Pl.Imperf several sheaves.Coll.Pl grain
'There were several messy sheaves of grain lying there.'

[44] Reflecting the fact that the nouns ending in the vowel *e* are, as a rule, nouns of neuter gender, the collective plural forms with the suffix *-je* behave like nouns of neuter gender. As we see, they assign neuter gender to their modifiers.

Note, however, that the collective plural forms with the suffix *-je* may also have singular agreement with the predicate. Thus, instead of ($41b_2$) we may have (i):

(i) *Lisjeto* *e* *veḱe* *požolteno*
leaves.Coll.Pl+the.N.Sg be.3Sg already yellowed.N.Sg.Pass.Part
'The leaves have already yellowed.'

3.1.3.4. Some mass nouns of feminine and neuter gender that have plural markers with distinct interpretation, can have collective plural forms with the meaning 'a great quantity of':[45] Examine the plurals of the nouns *voda* 'water.F.Sg', *treva* 'grass.F.Sg', *godina* 'year.F.Sg', *žito* 'corn.N.Sg'.

(42) a_1 *Pliva* *vo* *matni* *vodi.*
swim.3Sg in troubled.Pl waters.Gen.Pl
'(S)he is swimming in troubled waters.'

a_2 *Gazevme* *niz* *voǵe.*[46]
thread.1Pl.Imperf through waters.Coll.Pl
'We were wading through a host of water.'

b_1 *Kupiv* *lekoviti* *trevi.*
buy.3Sg.Aor medicinal.Pl herbs.Gen.Pl
'I bought medicinal herbs.'

b_2 *Vodata* *e* *polna* *so* *trevje.*
water+the.F.Sg be.3Sg full.F.Sg with grass.Coll.Pl
'The water is full of grass.'

c_1 *Petko* *ima* *mnogu* *godini.*
Petko have.3Sg many years.Gen.Pl
'Petko is very old.'

c_2 *Izminale* *(mnogu)* *godinje.*
passed.Pl.*l*-Part many years.Coll.Pl
'A lot of years have passed.'

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[45] In some cases, the meanings of the form with general plural and the one with collective plural are differentiated. Thus, the general plural form of *krilo* 'wing.N.Sg', *krila,* refers to the wings of a building, whereas the collective plural form *krilja* refers to wings of birds; the general plural form of *drvo* 'tree.N.Sg' *drva*, refers to wood for the fireplace, whereas the collective plural form *drvja* refers to trees that grow in nature; the general plural form of *pero* 'feather.N.Sg', *pera*, has the meaning 'pens', whereas the collective plural form *perja* refers to the feathers of birds. The collective plural form of *grozd* 'bunch of grapes.M.Sg', *grozje,* has the meaning 'grapes' (*grozdovi* meaning 'bunches of grapes'), whereas the collective plural form of *loza* 'grapevine.F.Sg', *lozje,* has acquired the meaning 'vineyard' and is used as a noun in the singular, with its own plural—*lozja*.

[46] The collective plural marker is here *-je*, as it is in *snopje* 'sheaves.Coll.Pl', *trevje* 'grass.Coll.Pl', or *planinje* 'mountains.Coll.Pl'. In many Macedonian dialects, including the standard one, the collective plural of the noun *voda* 'water' has been palatalized. In the dialect of Ohrid, however, there was no palatalization and the collective plural of *voda* is *vodje*, rather than *voǵe*.

(42) d_1 *Vo* *zemjava* *rastat* *mnogu* *vidovi*
in country+the.F.Sg.Prox1 grow.3Pl many kinds.Gen.Pl
žita.
corn/grain.Gen.Pl
'Many kinds of grain grow in this country.'

d_2 *Bogati* *sme* *so* *žitje.*
rich.Pl be.1Pl with corn.Coll.Pl
'We have a lot of corn.'

3.1.3.5. Nouns which are formally singular can have a collective meaning. Examples:[47]

(43) a_1 *mladina*
youth.F.Sg
'youth'

a_2 *pokuńnina*
household-furniture.F.Sg
'household furniture'

b_1 *graǵanstvo*
community.N.Sg
'community/the citizens'

b_2 *plemstvo*
nobility.N.Sg
'nobility/the nobles'

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[47] According to Topolinjska (1974: 48), the collectivity can be signaled by the root or the suffix. But the roots of the nouns in (43) do not carry the feature [+collective] and neither do the suffixes *-ina* and *–stvo*, which, as shown in (i–ii), can be part of nouns that do not have collective meaning:

(i) *idnina* (a derivation from the root *iden* 'future.M.Sg.Adj')
futurity.F.Sg
'futurity/the future'

(ii) *junaštvo* (a derivation from the root *junak* 'hero.M.Sg')
heroism.N.Sg
'heroism'

In these cases the feature [+collective] is specific for the given root + suffix combination.

3.1.4. There are quite a number of *pluralia tantum* nouns, i.e., nouns which occur only in the plural. Examples:

(44) a. *ališta*
'clothes'

b. *gaќi*
'underpants'

c. *gradi*
'breasts'

d. *jasli*
'manger/infant nursery'

e. *nogari*
'leggings'

f. *noќvi*
'bread-troughs'

g. *nožici*
'scissors'

h. *očila*
'glasses'

i. *pleќi*
'shoulders'

j. *šalvari*
'pantaloons'

3.1.5. Names of persons usually occur in the singular, but in exceptional cases, when they show up plural markers (*cf.* 3.1.1.7 above), there is number agreement with the verb. Geographic names, however, have plural agreement only if they refer to complex entities. Thus, both geographic names in the clauses in (45) have plural markers, but whereas in (45a) we have plural agreement, in (45b) the auxiliary verb and the participle *dovedeno* are in the singular:

(45) a. *Soedinetlte* *Državi* *se* *moќni.*
united+the.Pl states be.3Pl powerful.Pl
'The United States are powerful.'

b. *Kavadarci* *e* *dovedeno* *vo* *nezavidna* *položba.*
Kavadarci.Pl be.Sg brought.N.Sg in unfavorable.F.Sg position
'(The town of) Kavadarci has been put in an unfavorable position.'

3.2. Number with Modifiers, Determiner and Quantifiers

3.2.1. The modifiers agree in number with the noun or noun modifier they modify. Unlike the nouns, however, they have a uniform plural marker, *-i.*

(46) a. *ljubezni* *mladi* *ženi*
kind.Pl young.Pl women.M/F.Pl
'kind young women'

(46) b. *slatki* *mali* *deca*
sweet.Pl little.Pl children.N.Pl
'sweet little children'

3.2.2. Adjectives and participles in nominal predicates agree in number and gender with the subject of the clause:

(47) a. *Taa* *e* *ubava.*
she be.3Sg beautiful.F.Sg
'She is beautiful.'

b. *Toj* *ne* *e* *dojden.*
he not be.3Sg come.M.Sg.Pass.Part
'He hasn't come.'

3.2.3. The determiners also agree in number with the noun or noun equivalents which they determine and have *-i* as a plural marker:

(48) *tie/* *ovie/* *edni/* *koi* *mladi* *ženi*
those these some which.Pl young.Pl women.F.Pl
'those/these/some/which young women'

3.2.4. Each of the two-articled series of quantifiers[48] includes a member with plural number:

(49) a. *site* *naši* *členovi*
all+the.Pl our.Pl members.M.Pl
'all our members'

b. *celite* *listovi*
entire+the.Pl leaves.M.Pl
'all the leaves'

3.2.5. The lower quantifiers are inherently plural and do not include morphological number markers.

[48] The quantifiers are discussed in section 3.1 of chapter 5, entitled "The Structure of the Nominal Phrase".

Chapter 7

The Category of Definiteness and Articles

1. Definiteness

Definiteness is a category which denotes the reference of the objects to which the nouns refer. In Macedonian, it can be unmarked, indefinite ([–definite]) or definite ([+definite]), reflecting (a) non-identified, (b) non-uniquely identified, and (c) uniquely identified reference, respectively.

1.1. For example, the scope of the noun *jabolko* 'apple' in (1a) is not identified, in (1b) it is non-uniquely identified; whereas in (1c) it is uniquely identified:

(1) a. *Sakam* *jabolko.*
want.1Sg apple
'I want an apple.'

b. *Eve* *edno* *jabolko.*
here a.N.Sg apple
'Here is an apple.'

c. *Jabolkoto* *e* *crveno.*
apple+the.N.Sg be.3Sg red.N.Sg
'The apple is red.'

If we consider sentences (1b) and (1c) as a sequence, (1a) would represent the environment that determines the scope of the noun in (1b) and the phrase *edno jabolko* in (1b) would be the referent of the definite article of the noun phrase *jabolkoto* in (1c). But there are many cases in which the referent cannot be identified in such a straightforward manner; the information that the exponents of the category of definiteness carry often comes from some idea which has taken several sentences to describe.

1.2. In Macedonian, typical exponents of the category of definiteness are the definite and indefinite articles, which contrast with their absence, i.e., with zero articles. The feature [–definite] is, however, also present in indefinite pronouns and determiners, while the feature [+definite] is also embodied in (a) proper names, (b) some adjectival forms, (c) personal pronouns, and (d) deictic pronouns and determiners.

1.2.1. The proper names are definite expressions naming persons, geographic places, or institutions.

(2) a. *Vera*
Vera

b. *Vardar*
Vardar
'(the river) Vardar'

c. *Ministerstvo za kultura*
ministry for culture
'ministry of culture'

1.2.1.1. When there is a doubt about the exact reference of the proper name, it may be preceded by an articled common noun, an articled adjective or a determiner, which identify the referent, setting it off from other referents with the same name:[1]

(3) a. *profesorkata Vera*
professor+the.F.Sg Vera
'the professor Vera'

b. *ubavata Vera*
beautiful+the.F.Sg Vera
'the beautiful Vera'

c. *ovaa Vera*
this+the.F.Sg Vera
'this Vera'

1.2.1.2. In specific discourse situations, a common noun without an article can be used as a proper name. Thus, the common nouns *mama* 'mom' and *tato/tate* 'dad', in a discourse in which the participants are offspring of the persons to which these nouns refer, uniquely refer to the mother and father of the speaker:

(4) a. *Mama reče da ne odiš tamo.*
mom say.3Sg.Aor Subjun.Mark not go.2Sg there
'Mom said you shouldn't go there.'

[1] Structures such as *profesorkata Vera* in (3a) are analyzed as structures with two heads; the head to the left being semi-lexical (*cf.* section 9.2 in chapter 5, entitled "The Structure of the Nominal Phrase").

(4) b. *Tato/tate* *ne* *e* *tuka.*
dad not be.3Sg there
'Dad is not at home.'

1.2.2. The masculine adjectives may have so called 'long forms' ending in the vowel *i*, which instantiate the feature [+definite] and occur (a) in vocative expressions, (b) in articled masculine singular adjectives, (c) in proper names in which masculine singular adjectives appear as modifiers, and (d) in the adjective *sveti* 'holy.M.Sg.Def', when it occurs to the immediate left of the names of male saints: [2]

(5) a. *Dragi* *učitele!*
dear.M.Sg.Def.Adj teacher.M.Sg.Voc
'(My) dear teacher!'

b. *denešniot* *leb*
today's.M.Sg.Def.Pass.Part+the.M.Sg bread
'today's bread'

c. *Gorni* *Saraj*
upper.M.Sg.Def palace
'Gorni Saraj'

d. *Sveti* *Nikola*
holy.M.Sg.Def Nikola
'St Nikola'

1.2.3. The personal pronouns always refer to uniquely identified objects.[3] The referring properties of other pronouns with the feature [+definite], as well as of corresponding determiners, are, however, related to those of the articles.

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[2] In emotive contexts, the long form may be used in other environments. For example:

(i) *Ne* *znae* *što* *da* *pravi* *od* *pusti* *sram.*
not know.3Sg what Subjun.Mark do.3Sg from vile.M.Sg.Def shame
'(S)he doesn't know what to do; (s)he is so ashamed.' ((S)he doesn't know what to do out of vile shame.')

The masculine adjectives with the meaning 'higher' and 'lower' can also appear with [+definite] markers. Thus we have:

(ii) *viši* *klas*
higher.M.Sg.Def grade.M.Sg
'higher grade'

With the adjective *drug* 'other' the long form may be used as an alternative to the short one:

2. Indefinite Articles and Indefinite Nominal Phrases

The indefinite articles singularize and non-uniquely identify objects which are, as a rule, identifiable by the speaker.

2.1. Forms and Status of the Indefinite Articles

The Macedonian indefinite articles originate in the numeral one.

2.1.1. The forms of the Macedonian indefinite articles are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Macedonian Indefinite Articles

	Masc	Fem	Neut
Sg	*eden*	*edna*	*edno*
Pl	=====	*edni*	=====

2.1.2. The relationship of the indefinite article with the numeral one has not been severed. As pointed out by Topolinjska (1974: 102) compound numerals other than *eden* 'one', as well as other items denoting numeral quantity, alternate with the article in indefinite phrases, just as the numeral one does. However, as it can be seen from the stress patterns of the clauses in (6), the article is unstressed and procliticizes to the noun, while the numeral one is stressed:[4]

(6) a_1 *Edna* *ŽEna* *Otide* *POrano.*
a.F.Sg woman leave.3Sg.Aor Comp+early.Adv
'A woman left earlier.'

a_2 *EDna* *ŽEna* *Otide* *POrano.*
one.F.Sg woman leave.3Sg.Aor Comp+early.Adv
'ONE woman left earlier.'

a_3 *TRI* *ŽEni* *oTIdoa* *POrano.*
three women leave.3Pl.Aor Comp+early.Adv
'THREE women left earlier.'

(iii) *%Jas* *drug(i)* *sin* *nemam.*
I other.M.Sg.Def son not+have.1Sg
'I do not have another son.'

[3] *Cf.* chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

[4] The stressed syllables are represented by capital letters.

(6) b_1 *DOJde* *eden* *VOJnik.*
come.3Sg.Aor a.M.Sg soldier
'A soldier came.'

b_2 *DOJde* *EDen* *VOJnik.*
come.3Sg.Aor one.M.Sg soldier
'ONE soldier came.'

b_3 *Dojdoa* *DVA* *VOJnika.*
come.3Pl.Aor two soldiers.Enum.Pl
'TWO soldiers came.'

2.1.3. The fact that *eden, edna, edno, edni* co-occur with and actually carry definite articles (*cf.* (7)), as well as their less frequent usage, as compared to the prototypical indefinite articles in languages such as English, might argue against the article status of these items.[5]

(7) a. *Ednata* *žena* *dojde.*
one.F.Sg+the.F.Sg woman come.3Sg.Aor
'One of the women came.'

b. *Edniot* *čuvar* *spieše* *a*
one.M.Sg.Def+the.M.Sg guard sleep.3Sg.Imperf and
drugiot *čitaše.*
other.M.Sg.Def+the.M.Sg read.3Sg.Imperf
'The one guard was sleeping, while the other was reading.'

2.1.4. However, *eden, edna, edno, edni* can co-occur with numerals (*cf.* (8))[6] and, unlike adjectives, cannot be preceded by determiners or adjectives (*cf.* (9)):[7]

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[5] As a matter of fact, Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998: 357), refer to Bulgarian items analogous to *eden, edna, edno, edni* as 'indefinite adjectives', rather than 'articles'.

[6] In cases such as those in (8b), where the article does not show agreement with the noun and the unmarked form *edno* is used, the article is interpreted as a [+approximative] particle.

[7] Topolinjska (1974: 104) quotes an example where *eden* is preceded by the deictic determiner *toj*:

(i) *%... go* *zdogleda* *toj* *eden* *surtuk* *negov*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl catch-sight-of.3Sg.Aor that a.M.Sg scoundrel his.M.Sg
kako *sedi* *na* *reka...*
how sit.3Sg on river
'...(s)he caught sight of some kind of a scoundrel sitting at the river...'

(8) a_1 *Pominaa* *edni* *dve* *ženi.*
pass.3Pl.Aor a.Pl two women
'Two (specific) women passed (through the street).'

a_2 *Edni* *dve* *knigi* *zedov* *od* *kaj* *nea.*
a.Pl two books take.1Sg.Aor from at her
'I took from her place two (specific) books.'

b_1 *Izberi* *mi* *edno* *dve* *kila!*
select.3Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl a.N.Sg two kilos
'Select for me some two kilos!'

b_2 *Daj* *edno* *tri* *iljadi!*
give.3Sg.Imper a.N.Sg three thousand
'Give some three thousand!'

(9) **Ovaa/* **ubava* *edna* *žena* *dojde.*
this.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg a.F.Sg woman come.3Sg.Aor

2.1.5. I will continue to use the term 'indefinite articles', with the proviso that in expressions such as those in (7), the original numeral feature of the item prevails. As for the lower frequency of occurrence of *eden, edna, edno, edni*, as compared to the prototypical indefinite articles in English, it is due to the fact that in many environments in which in English an indefinite article is used, in Macedonian we have a zero article.[8] Compare the following Macedonian clauses to their English translations:

As shown in the translation (which along with the glosses is mine), the indefinite article is here used for a special effect.

[8] While in English, zero articles occur only with some specified noun classes, in Macedonian, and in all the Balkan languages in general, nouns of any noun class can appear without articles. In nominal predicates, the zero article is typical and, as can be observed when (i) below is compared to (ii), the noun phrase with an indefinite article is marked.

(i) *Ti* *si* *eden* *tiranin.*
you be.2Sg a.F.Sg tyrant
'You are what tyrants are known to be.'

(ii) *Ti* *si* *tiranin.*
you be.2Sg tyrant
'You are a tyrant.'

(10) a. *Toj e učitel.*
he be.3Sg teacher
'He is a teacher.'

b. *Pred stanicata stoeše policaec.*
before station+the.F.Sg stand.3Sg.Imperf policeman
'In front of the station, there was a policeman.'

c. *Zadocnet pazardžija panično butaše*
belated.M.Sg.Pass.Part marketer in-panic.Adv push.3Sg.Imperf
količka.
cart
'A belated marketer was in panic pushing a cart.'

2.2. Indefinite Articles and Specificity

The Macedonian nominal phrases with indefinite articles are exponents of specificity—a category which, following Heusinger (2002), I take to express dependency between the items introduced in the discourse. The indefinite nominal phrases that refer to non-uniquely identified objects that are identifiable by the speaker are specific, while the indefinite nominal phrases that refer to non-uniquely identified objects that are not identifiable by the speaker are non-specific. Examples of specific and non-specific indefinite nominal phrases are given in (11)[9] and (12), respectively.

(11) a. *Te baraše eden čovek što pred*
2Sg.Acc.Cl look-for.3Sg.Imperf a.M.Sg man that before
deset godini si go zapoznal.
ten years be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl get-to-know.M.Sg.Perf.*l*-Part
'A man you had met ten years ago was looking for you.'

b. *Dali go poznavate eden čovek što*
whether 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl know.3Pl a.Sg man that
doaǵa često vo Dobridol?
come.3Sg often in Dobridol
'Do you know a certain man that often comes to Dobridol?'

[9] Examples (11b) and (11c) are from Topolinjska (1974: 104), with my glosses and translation.

(11) c. *Edno* *malo* *suštestvo* *im* *go*
a.N.Sg little.N.Sg creature 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
nema *da* *bara* *pročka*
not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark seek.3Sg absolution
ovaa *večer.*
this.F.Sg evening
'A certain small creature is not there with them to seek absolution this evening.'

(12) a. *Edna* *dama* *ne* *go* *pravi* *toa.*
a.F.Sg lady not 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.3Sg that
'A lady doesn't do that.'

b. *Mi* *treba* *eden* *rabotnik* *na* *kojšto*
1Sg.Dat.Cl need.3Sg a.M.Sg worker to which.M.Sg+that
ќe *možam* *da* *smetam.*
will.Mod.Cl can.1Sg Subjun.Mark count.1Sg
'I need a worker I will be able to count upon.'

2.2.1. The specificity status of the indefinite phrases in (11) and (12) is transparent through the structure and semantics of the clause. There are, however, indefinite clauses such as (13), which can be interpreted as either specific or non-specific:[10]

(13) *Mi* *treba* *eden* *rabotnik.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl need.3Sg a.M.Sg worker
1. 'I need a worker (whose identity is known to me).'
2. 'I need a worker (whose identity is not important).'

2.2.2. The specificity status of the nominal phrases can also be expressed by a number of determiners and modifiers which are always non-specific—by the indefinite determiners and qualitative or quantitative modifiers derived by adding the prefixes *ne-, ni-, po-+ne,* or the postmodifiers *-gode, (%da)-bilo* or *(i) da e* to 'wh'

[10] In clauses with indefinite indirect objects, specificity is determined by the presence or absence of a doubling clitic. As shown in section 4.2 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause", the specific indefinite indirect object is clitic-doubled, while the non-specific one is not.

bases.[11] Examples of nominal phrases with the indefinite non-specific determiners *nekoj* 'some', *nikoj* 'no', *ponekoj* 'some.Distr', and *koj gode/ koj (%da)-bilo/koj (i) da e* 'whichever' are given in (14):[12]

(14) a. *Uште nekoja godina staž nedostiga.*[13]
more some.F.Sg year work-experience lack.3Sg
'Some (unspecified number of) years of work-experience is lacking.'

b. *Ne me bendisuva nikoja/niedna devojka.*
not 1Sg.Acc.Cl please.3Sg no.F.Sg girl
'No girl pleases me.'

c. *Pridaj im ponekoja godina!*
add.2Sg.Imper 3Pl.Dat.Cl some.F.Sg.Distr year
'Add various numbers of years to each one of them!'

---

[11] The derivation of these determiners and modifiers is discussed in section 5 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

Note that Topolinjska (2009) has listed *nekakov* 'some kind' and *nikakov* 'no kind' among the modifiers "that describe the similarity of the referent with other entities" (*cf.* section 4.1 in chapter 5, entitled "The Structure of the Nominal Phrase"). Note, however, that, unlike other modifiers "that describe the similarity of the referent with other entities", these modifiers cannot be preceded by indefinite articles and can hardly carry definite articles. Compare (i) to (i') and (ii) to (ii'):

(i) *Bara eden takov šal.*
look-for.3Sg a.M.Sg that-kind.M.Sg scarf
'(S)he is looking for that kind of a scarf.'

(i') **Bara eden nekakov šal.*
look-for.3Sg a.M.Sg some-kind.M.Sg scarf

(ii) *Go bara takviot šal.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl look-for.3Sg that-kind+the.M.Sg scarf
'(S)he is looking for the scarf of that kind.'

(ii') *?Go bara nekakviot šal.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl look-for.3Sg some-kind+the.M.Sg scarf
'(S)he is looking for the scarf of some kind.'

[12] Examples of nominal phrases with indefinite non-specific qualitative and quantitative modifiers are given in section 5.4.2 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

[13] In this clause the [–indefinite, –specific] determiner is interpreted 'a given number of' or 'one or two' and cannot appear in the plural form.

(14) d_1 *Kaži* *mu* *go* *toa*
tell.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl that.N.Sg

na koj-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e službenik što ќe
to whichever.M.Sg official that will.Mod.Cl

go *sretneš!*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet.2Sg.Pf.Pres

'Tell that to whichever official you meet!'

d_2 *Ne davaj* *mu* *ja*
not give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

knigata *na koe-gode* *dete!*
book+the.F.Sg to whichever.N.Sg child

'Don't give the book to just any child!'

3. Definite Articles and Definite Nominal Phrases

The definite articles refer to and uniquely identify objects that have been previously mentioned or have otherwise been made identifiable. They are motivated by two needs—anaphora and spatial distinction.

3.1. Forms of the Definite Articles

The definite articles exhibit triple spatial differentiation; there are actually three sets of definite articles: ***v***, ***t***, and ***n***. The members of the ***t***-set are used for anaphoric reference, but also refer to objects proximate to the addressee; the members of the ***v***-set refer to objects proximate to the speaker; whereas the members of the ***n***-set refer to objects that are distant from both the speaker and the addressee. Each of the sets has four different forms and we have twelve definite article forms altogether:

Table 2. Macedonian Definite Articles

	1	2	3	4
t	*-ot*	*-ta*	*-to*	*-te*
v	*-ov*	*-va*	*-vo*	*-ve*
n	*-on*	*-na*	*-no*	*-ne*

3.1.1. The forms in columns 1, 3, and 4 are traditionally referred to as "masculine singular", "neuter singular", and "masculine/feminine plural", respectively, while the forms in column 2 are referred to as "feminine singular" or "neuter plural" forms. The

behavior of the article, however, does not always justify these labels (*cf.* Tomić 1996a).

3.1.2. While the definite articles that are carried by feminine singular and neuter singular nouns have the "feminine singular" and "neuter singular" article form, respectively, irrespective of the type of their final phoneme, with the definite articles that are carried by masculine singular nouns that is not the case. The masculine nouns take "masculine singular" articles only if they end in a consonant. When a masculine singular noun ends in the vowel *a* or *o*, the choice of the form of the article is phonologically conditioned—it depends on the final vowel of the noun. Thus, both feminine nouns in (15) take the form of the article which is characteristic for feminine singular nouns, whereas only the masculine noun in ($16a_1$), which ends on a consonant, takes the form of the article characteristic for masculine singular nouns; the noun in ($16b_1$), which ends on the vowel *a* takes the form of the article characteristic for feminine nouns, and the noun in ($16c_1$), which ends on the vowel *o* takes the form of the article which is characteristic for neuter nouns:[14]

(15) a_1 *zima*
winter.F.Sg
'winter'

a_2 *zimata*
winter.F.Sg+the.F.Sg
'the winter'

b_1 *prolet*
spring.F.Sg
'spring'

b_2 *proletta*[15]
spring.F.Sg+the.F.Sg
'the spring'

(16) a_1 *čovek*
man.M.Sg
'man'

a_2 *čovekot*
man.M.Sg+the.M.Sg
'the man'

b_1 *vladika*
archbishop.M.Sg
'archbishop'

b_2 *vladikata*
archibishop.M.Sg+the.F.Sg
'the archbishop

[14] Note that in (15), (16), and (17) the gender/number labels of the articles are formal, i.e., refer to one of the four typical uses of the articles in the columns in Table 2. In subsequent examples, the gender/number features of the articles will reflect the morphological features of the noun.

[15] In this example we have a geminate *t*. When *-t* is preceded by *-s*, however, it is dropped:

(i) *radosta*
joy+the.F.Sg

(16) c_1 *dedo*
grandfather.M.Sg
'grandfather'

c_2 *dedoto*
grandfather.M.Sg+the.N.Sg
'the grandfather'

3.1.3. Masculine and feminine plural nouns, as a rule, take articles ending in the vowel *-e*, whereas neuter nouns take articles ending in the vowel *-a*.[16]

(17) a. *molivite*
pencils+the.Pl
'the pencils'
(articled plural from the masculine noun *moliv* 'pencil')

b. *knigite*
books+the.Pl
'the books'
(articled plural from the feminine noun *kniga* 'book')

c. *racete*
hands+the.Pl
'the hands'
(articled plural from the feminine noun *raka* 'hand')

d. *vladicite*
archbishops+the.Pl
'the archbishops'
(articled plural from the masculine noun *vladika* 'the archbishops')

3.1.4. In the southeastern and northern Macedonian dialects, the definite article does not exhibit a three-partite distinction, the *t*-set being the only set of definite articles. In some southern dialects, on the other hand, the final consonants of the masculine singular forms of the definite article is dropped and, consequently, there is only one masculine singular form of definite articles, *-o*. The following sentences are from the dialect of Bitola: [17]

(18) a. *%Učitelo* *dojde*
teacher+the.M.Sg come.3Sg.Aor
'The teacher came.'

---

[16] There are some exceptions. Thus, the plural noun *luǵe* 'people' takes an article ending in the vowel *-o*, characteristic for singular neuter nouns.

(i) *luǵeto*
people+the.Pl
'the people'

[17] Note that, with feminine nouns, a three-partite article distinction is made in this dialect.

(18) b. *%Mi* *padna* *nožo.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl fall.3Sg.Aor knife+the.M.Sg
'I dropped the knife.' (lit. 'To me fell the knife.')

3.2. Deixis and Anaphora

The definite articles can be used deictically or anaphorically.

3.2.1. When used deictically, the definite article determines the spatial relationship between the speaker and the object referred to. When the object is proximate to the speaker, a form of the article with the root ***v*** is used, when the object is proximate to the addressee a form of the article with the root ***t*** is used, when the object is far from both the speaker and the addressee a form of the article with the root ***n*** is used:

(19) a. *Zemi* *ja* *knigava!*
take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl book+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'Take this book (the one close to me)!'

b. *Donesi* *ja* *knigata!*
bring.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl book+the.F.Sg.Prox2
'Bring that book (the one close to you)!'

c. *Vidi* *ja* *knigana!*
see.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl book+the.F.Sg.Dist
'See that book over there!'

3.2.2. The deictically used definite article can also express temporal relationship between the speaker and the object referred to:

(20) a. *Dolga* *mi* *se* *vide*
long.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
noḱva.
night+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'This night (the one that was just over) seemed long to me.'

b. *Pobrzajte,* *ene* *gi* *praznicine!*
hurry-up.2Pl.Imper there 3Pl.Acc.Cl festivity+the.M.Sg.Dist
'Hurry up (with the preparations), the festivities are coming soon!' (lit. 'Hurry up, there are the festivities.')

3.2.3. When used anaphorically, the definite article refers to objects that have been introduced in previous text. The nominal phrase that introduces the referent is indefinite (*cf.* (21a)), while the phrase with an anaphoric definite article that refers to it is usually modified and, as a rule, has a form of the article with the root ***t*** (*cf.* (21b$_2$)).

(21) a. *Vidov* *mnogu* *ubavi* *devojki.*
see.1Sg.Aor many beautiful.Pl girls
'I saw many beautiful girls.'

b. *Ja* *pokaniv* *najubavata* *(devojka).*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl invite.1Sg.Aor most+beautiful+the.F.Sg girl
'I invited the most beautiful one/(girl).'

3.2.4. In marked contexts, when a specific relationship between the speaker and the object referred to by the definite nominal expression has to be brought out, an article with the root ***v*** or ***n*** can be used:[18]

(22) a. *Studentot* *stana* *dodeka* *studentkava*
student+the.M.Sg get-up.3Sg.Aor while student.F+the.F.Sg.Prox1
ni *da* *mrdne.*
neither Subjun.Mark budge.3Sg.Aor
'The male student got up, while the female student did not even budge.'

b. *Što* *go* *nema* *ušte* *čovekov?*
why 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+have.3Sg yet man+the.M.Sg
'Why isn't the man coming yet?'

c. *Ama* *koga* *ќe* *se* *vrati*
but when will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl return.3Sg.Pf.Pres
deteno, *ќe* *go* *pomolam*
boy+the.N.Sg.Dist will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl beg.1Sg.Pf.Pres
da *mi* *prosti.*
Subjun.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl forgive.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'But when the boy returns, I will beg him to forgive me.'

[18] Koneski (1967: 232), from where examples (22b) ad (22c) are taken, points out that in examples such as these the article does not refer to persons but rather evokes the image of that person.

3.3. Definite Articles in Modified Nominal Phrases

In phrases with quantifiers and/or modifiers, the definite article does not show up on the noun, but rather on the leftmost quantifier or modifier.[19]

(23) a. *prvata* *nedela*
first.F.Sg+the.F.Sg week.F
'the first week'

b. *prvata* *rabotna* *nedela*
first.F.Sg+the.F.Sg working.F.Sg week.F
'the first working week'

c. *dvete* *prvi* *rabotni* *nedeli*
two.F+the.Pl first.Pl working.Pl weeks.F
'the two first working weeks'

d. *prvite* *dve* *rabotni* *nedeli*
first.Pl+the.Pl two.F working.Pl weeks.F
'the first two working weeks'

(24) a. *mojata/* *Stojanovata* *rabotna* *nedela*
my.F.Sg+the.F.Sg Stojan's.F.Sg+the.F.Sg working.F.Sg week.F
'my/Stojan's working week'

b. *mojata/* *Stojanovata* *prva*
my.F.Sg+the.F.Sg Stojan's.F.Sg+the.F.Sg first.F.Sg
rabotna *nedela*
working.F.Sg week.F
'my/Stojan's first working week'

---

[19] When the modifier is itself modified, the article does not show up on its modifier:

(i) *crvenana* *volnena* *šapka*
red.F.Sg+the.Dist.F.Sg woolen.F.Sg hat.F
'the red woolen hat over there'

(ii) *mnogu* *pogolemana* *crvena* *volnena* *šapka*
much Compar+large.F.Sg+the.Dist.F.Sg red.F.Sg woolen.F.Sg hat.F
'the much larger red woolen hat over there'

(24) c. *moite/* *Stojanovite* *dve* *prvi* *rabotni* *nedeli*
my.Pl+the.Pl Stojan's.Pl+the.Pl two.F first.Pl working.Pl weeks.F
'my/Stojan's two first working weeks'

3.3.1. In coordinated quantifiers and modifiers that refer to different entities, both quantifiers or modifiers carry definite articles:[20]

(25) a. *prvata* *i* *vtorata* *rabotna* *nedela*
first+the.F.Sg and second+F.Sg working.F.Sg week.F
'the first and the second working week'

b. *mojata* *i* *Stojanovata* *rabotna* *nedela*
my.F.Sg+the.F.Sg and Stojan's.F.Sg+the.F.Sg working.F.Sg week.F
'my and Stojan's working week'

3.3.2. The forms of the articles that are carried by modifiers may differ from those carried by the nouns they modify. Compare the form of the article in (26a) to that in (26b):

(26) a. *decava*
children.Pl+the.Pl.Prox1
'the children'

b. *malive* *deca*
small.Pl+the.Pl.Prox1 children.Pl
'the small children'

While in (26a) the choice of the form of the definite article depends on the final vowel of the noun, in (26b) it depends on the morphological features of the noun which the adjective that carries the article modifies. Thus, in (26a) we have a form which is typical for feminine singular nouns, *-va*, while in (26b) we have a form typical for plural nouns, *-ve*. As a matter of fact, the articles of the modifiers are, as a rule, morphologically conditioned.

[20] Thus, coordinated quantifiers and modifiers that refer to different entities differ from those that refer to the same entity, in which case the second quantifier or modifier does not carry definite articles. Note also that there is a difference in the number of the verb; in coordinated quantifiers and modifiers that refer to the same entity it is singular, while in those which refer to different entities it is plural.

3.3.3. The article does not, as a rule, occur both at the right edge of the adjective and at the right edge of the noun it modifies. When the adjective is highly emphasized, it can occur to the right of the noun to which it refers and both the noun and the adjective can carry a definite article. However, as shown by the commas and the translations in (27), in his case, the adjective is in appositional relationship to the noun:

(27) a. *Daj* *mi* *ja* *šapkata,*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl hat+the.F.Sg
crvenata!
red+the.F.Sg
'Give me the hat, the red one!'

b. *Go* *kupiv* *fustanot,* *šareniot.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl buy.1Sg.Aor dress+the.M.Sg patterned+the.M.Sg
'I bought the dress, the patterned one.'

3.4. Definite Articles, Basic Deictics, and "Double" Definitization

The features of the Macedonian articles are shared by the basic deictic determiners.[21]

3.4.1. The articles actually differ from the deictic determiners in not being able to refer directly. Thus, a nominal phrase with a determiner, such as the one in (28a), can be used without any reference to previous text, whereas the use of a nominal phrase with a definite article is conditioned on previous mention, specification through a relative clause, as in ($28b_1$), or a prepositional phrase (which itself is derived through a relative clause), as in ($28b_2$):

(28) a. *Daj* *mi* *ja* *taa* *kniga.*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl that.F.Sg book
'Give me that book!'

b_1 *Daj* *mi* *ja* *knigata*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl book+the.F.Sg
(za *kojašto* *zboruvavme)!*
about which.F.Sg+that talk.1Pl.Imperf
'Give me the book (we talked about)!'

[21] The deictics are discussed in section 6 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

(28) b_2 *Daj* *mi* *ja* *knigata*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl book+the.F.Sg
((kojašto *e)* *na* *policata)!*
which.F.Sg+that be.3Sg on shelf+the.F.Sg
'Give me the book ((that is) on the shelf)!'

3.4.2. While the articles are postposed to the first element of the nominal phrase, the deictic determiners are placed in initial or leftmost DP-position and, as a rule, do not co-occur with definite articles. Thus, the DPs in (29a), where we have a deictic determiner but no article, and (29b), where we have an article but no deictic determiner, are well-formed, whereas the DP in (29c), where we have both a deictic determiner and an article, is ungrammatical:

(29) a. *ovoj* *ubav* *leten* *den*
this.M.Sg beautiful.M.Sg summer.Adj.M.Sg day
'this beautiful summer day'

b. *ubaviov* *leten* *den*
beautiful+the.M.Sg.Prox1 summer.Adj.M.Sg day
'this beautiful summer day'

c. **ovojov* *ubav* *leten* *den*
this+the.M.Sg.Prox1 beautiful.M.Sg summer.Adj.M.Sg day

3.4.3. In marked nominal phrases, the deictic determiner can, however, co-occur with an articled modifier or noun;[22] in this case we actually have "double" definitization.

3.4.3.1. Marked nominal phrases with deictic determiners to the left of articled numerals or modifiers, whether followed by nouns or functioning as noun equivalents, are relatively common: [23]

[22] As pointed out by Topolinjska (1995: 52), the occurrence of the deictic determiner to the left of DPs with definite articles is most frequent in the areas that are in direct contact with Greek.

[23] Example (30d) is from Topolinjska (1974: 130), with my glosses and translation. Note that in this example, the deictic determiner is spatially marked, whereas the article occurs in its anaphoric *t*-form.

(30) a. *Tie dvete dojdoa podocna.*
those two+the.F.Sg come.3Pl.Aor Compar+later
'Those two (female persons) came later.'

b. *Beše toa eden od onie golemite volci.*
be.3Sg.Imperf that.N.Sg one of those.Dist big+the.Pl wolves
'That was one of those big wolves.'

c. *Ova naševo (dete) nikako*
this.N.Sg out+the.N.Sg.Prox1 child no-way
da prozboruva.
Subjun.Mark start-talking.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'This child of ours hasn't started talking yet.'

d. *Toa e ona poslednoto što možeme*
that.N.Sg be.3Sg that.N.Sg.Dist last+the.N.Sg that can.1Pl
da go storime eden za drug.
Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.1Pl one for another
'That is the last thing that we can do for each other.'

3.4.3.2. In emotionally charged contexts, the deictic determiner can even occur to the left of an articled proper name:

(31) *Ovoj Stojanov sèušte go nema!*
this Stojan+the.M.Sg.Prox1 still 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+have.3Sg
'STOJAN hasn't yet come!' (lit. 'This Stojan is still not here.')

3.5. Formal Analysis of the Definite Article

The fact that in the Balkan nominal clauses with modifiers the definite article shows up on the first modifier had originally led to generative analyses in which the noun or the modifier moved and adjoined to the left of a determiner node where the definite article was derived, the movement being triggered by the affixal property of the articles (*cf.* Arnaudova 1996; Longobardi 1996; Tomić 1996a). Nevertheless, these analyses led to some wrong predictions.

3.5.1. If an adjective moved by itself, in nominal phrases in which the adjective is modified by an adverb, the adverb would be expected to remain behind the adjective. But as shown by the unacceptability of (32a) and the well-formedness of (32b) the modifying adverb should remain to the left of the adjective:

(32) a. **ubavata mnogu šapka*
beautiful+the.F.Sg very hat

b. *mnogu ubavata šapka*
very beautiful+the.F.Sg hat

'the very beautiful hat'

3.5.2. If a complex adjective phrase (headed by an adjective) moved along with all its modifiers and complements, the article would be expected to appear to the right of a modifier or a complement, but as shown in (33) it has to appear to the right of the adjective:

(33) a. **[bogat so žito] -ot kraj*
rich with grain the.M.Sg region

b. *bogatiot so žito kraj*
rich+the.M.Sg with grain region

'the rich in grain region'

3.5.3. If a coordinated adjectival phrase is moved as a whole, the article would be expected to appear on the second conjunct, but as shown in (34) it has to appear on the first one:[24]

(34) a. **ubava i interesnata kniga*
beautiful and interesting+the.F.Sg book

b. *ubavata i interesna kniga*
beautiful+the.F.Sg and interesting book

'the beautiful and intersting book'

3.5.4. The awareness of facts such as these has led to the conclusion that articled nouns and articled adjectives should be inserted in the determiner phrase (DP) along with their definite articles. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) argue that the Balkan deictics and indefinite articles should be derived in the determiner node (Det), whereas articled nouns or adjectives should raise to Det covertly, in LF, to check their definiteness features.

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[24] If the noun refers to two different individuals both conjuncts are articled:

(i) *Novata i starata kniga se ovde.*
new+the.F.Sg and old+the.F.Sg book be.3Pl here

'The new and the old book are here.'

As we see, in this case the verb is plural.

3.6. Special Use of the Definite Article

With some types and subtypes of nouns, the definite article is always used. This usage could be referred to as 'special', though it is in accordance with the general convention for the use of the article—uniqueness.

3.6.1. Common nouns always carry the definite article when referring to unique objects, such as the earth, the sun or the moon (*cf.* 35), or else when their reference to a unique object follows from a post-nominal modifier (*cf.* 36).

(35) a. *Vo leto zemjata e najblisku*
in summer earth+the.F.Sg be.3Sg Superl+close.Adv
do sonceto.
near sun+the.N.Sg
'In the summer the earth is closest to the sun.'

b. *Svetlinata od/ na mesečinata e mnogu*
light+the.F.Sg of/ from moon+the.F.Sg be.3Sg much
poslaba od svetlinata od/ na sonceto.
Compar+weak.F.Sg from light+the.F.Sg of/ from sun+the.N.Sg
'The light of the moon is much weaker than the light of the sun.'

(36) a. *Toj e hranitelot na semejstvoto.*
he be.3Sg bread-winner+the.M.Sg to/of family+the.N.Sg
'He is the (only) breadwinner of the family.'

b. *Taa e ubavicata na gradov.*
she be.3Sg beauty+the.F.Sg to/of town+the.M.Sg.Prox1
'She is the beauty of the town.'

3.6.2. Plural forms of adjectives used as noun equivalents often carry the definite article.

(37) a. *Dajte im na siromasite!*
give.2Pl.Imper 3Pl.Dat.Cl to poor+the.Pl
'Give to the poor!'

b. *Nema mesto za novodojdenite!*
not+have.3Sg place for newly-come+the.Pl
'There is no room for the newcomers!'

3.6.3. Nouns denoting family relationships carry definite articles when used anaphorically.[25]

(38) a. *Majkata* *pleteše,* *a* *tatkoto*
mother+the.F.Sg knit.3Sg.Imperf and father+the.N.Sg
čitaše.
read.3Sg.Imperf
'The mother was knitting while the father was reading.'

b. *Sestrata* *dojde,* *a* *bratot* *ne.*
sister+the.F.Sg come.3Sg.Aor and brother+the.M.Sg not
'The sister came but the brother didn't.'

3.6.4. Proper names, as a rule, have unique reference and do not carry definite articles. There are many exceptions to this rule, however.

3.6.4.1. Proper names with post-nominal modifiers, such as those in (39), or with pre-nominal modifiers representing initial parts of proper names, such as those in (40), always carry definite articles; without them the nominal phrases would refer to all objects with the given properties.

(39) a. *Institutot* *za* *stranski* *jazici*
institute+the.M.Sg for foreign.Pl languages
'The Institute for Foreign Languages'

b. *Centarot* *za* *vrabotuvanje*
center+the.M.Sg for employment
'The Employment Agency'

(40) a. *Britanskiot* *muzej*
British+the.M.Sg museum
'The British Museum'

[25] When used deictically, the nouns denoting family relationships are accompanied by possessive (dative) clitics (*cf.* section 3.2 in chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals"). In some dialects, the nouns *majka* 'mother' and *tatko* 'father' are used for reference to the mother or the father of the speaker (in a conversation in which the participants are offspring of the referent), in which case they occur without an article and without a possessive clitic. Cross-dialectally, however, for such reference the noun *mama* 'mom' and *tato/tate* 'dad' are used (*cf.* 1.2.1.2 above).

(40) b. *Soedinetite* *Amerikanski* *Državi*
united.Pl+the.Pl American.Pl states
'The United States of America'

c. *Makedonskata* *akademija* *za* *naukite*
Macedonian+the.F.Sg academy for sciences+the.Pl
i *umetnostite*
and arts+the.Pl
'The Macedonian Academy for Sciences and Arts'

3.6.4.2. Geographic names in the plural also carry definite articles; without them these names would refer to a plurality of objects.

(41) a. *Alpite*
Alps+the.Pl
'the Alps'

b. *Dardanelite*
Dardanelles+the.Pl
'the Dardanelles'

3.6.4.3. Nicknames derived from common nouns usually carry an article; without them they would not refer to unique persons. Examples:

(42) a. *Piperkata*
pepper+the.F.Sg
'(the man called) Piperka'

b. *Malecon*
small-one+the.M.Sg.Dist
'(the man called) Malec'

3.6.4.4. In marked contexts in which a unique relationship between the speaker and the referent is established, definite articles can occur in personal names ending in *e*, which originally were diminutives and in these contexts are treated as such.[26]

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[26] In the southeastern Macedonian dialects, personal names ending in *e* can carry the definite article even in non-emotive contexts:

(i) *%Go* *vidov* *Dimčeto.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor Dimče+the.N.Sg
'I saw Dimče.'

(ii) *%Mareto* *došla.*
Mare+the.N.Sg come.F.Sg.*l*-Part
'Mare has come.'

(iii) *%Dadox* *paltoto* *na* *Lenčeto.*
give.3Sg.Aor coat+the.N.Sg to Lenče+the.N.Sg
'I gave the coat to Lenče.'

Note that there is no agreement between the gender of the article and the gender of a participle in the predicate. Thus, in (ii) the article is neuter and agrees with the form of the noun *Mare*,

(43) *Mareno* *bilo* *umno* *devojče!*
Mare.Dim+the.N.Sg.Dist been.N.Sg.*l*-Part clever.N.Sg girl.Dim
'(I didn't know that) Mare was so clever a girl!'

3.6.4.5. In emotionally charged clauses, definite articles can appear in masculine proper and geographic names in the singular:

(44) a. *Stojanon* *ne* *iznenadi!*
Stojan+the.M.Sg.Dist 3Pl.Acc.Cl surprise.3Sg.Aor
'Stojan surprised us!'

b. *Vardarov* *nadošol!*
Vardar+the.M.Sg.Prox1 come-up.M.Sg.Perf.*l*-Part
'The level of our river Vardar has risen!'

3.6.4.6. Masculine geographic or proper names in the singular modified by relative clauses, which mark unique reference to particular properties of the proper names, can also be articled.[27]

(45) *Ova* *ne* *e* *Belgradot/* *Stojanot* *što*
this not be.3Sg Belgrade+the.M.Sg Stojan+the.M.Sg that
go *poznavam.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl know.1Sg
'This is not the Belgrade/the Stojan I know.'

3.6.4.7. Qualificational nouns always carry the definite article:

(46) *planetata* *Venera*
planet+the.F.Sg Venus
'the Planet Venus'

3.6.4.8. Titles to the left of proper names carry articles only optionally.[28]

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while the participle is feminine and agrees with the gender of the person that carries the name *Mare.*

[27] A similar effect can be achieved by modifying the geographic name by an adjective with a definite article:

(i) *Ova* *ne* *e* *stariot* *Belgrad.*
this not be.3Sg old+the.M.Sg Belgrade
'This is not the old Belgrade.'

(47) *Car(ot)* *Samuil*
tzar+the.M.Sg Samuil
'tzar Samuil'

3.6.5. The definite article may be absent from some definite nominal phrases with common nouns used in greetings or curses (*cf.* 48a) or in common nouns with very general reference, such as *čovek* 'man', *žena* 'woman', and *dete* 'child' (*cf.* 48b):

(48) a. *Čestit* *praznik!*
merry.M.Sg festivity
'Happy holidays!'

b. *%Koga* *se* *naluti* *žena,* *sè*
when Acc.Refl.Cl get-angry.3Sg.Aor woman everything
iskrši.
break.3Sg.Aor
'The woman got very angry and broke everything around.' (lit. 'When the woman got angry, she broke everything.')

3.6.6. The definite article can be also absent from definite nominal phrases used in poetry and folk tales:[29]

(49) a. *Otkako* *Lenka* *ostavi* *kosula* *tenka* *lenena...*
since Lenka leave.3Sg.Aor shirt fine.F.Sg flaxen.F.Sg
'Since Lenka left aside the fine flaxen shirt (that she was working on)...'

b. *%Stanala* *rano* *carea* *ќerka....*
got-up.F.Sg.*l*-Part early king's.F.Sg daughter
'The king's daughter got up early...'

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[28] The title *imperator* 'emperor' is exceptional; it always carries a definite article:

(i) *Imperatorot* *Justinian*
Emperor+the.M.Sg Justinian
'the Emperor Justinian'

[29] Example (49a) is from the poem "Lenka" by the famous Macedonian poet Kočo Racin; (49b) is from the collection of folktales collected and published by Marko Cepenkov at the turn of the twentieth century.

4. Articles in Generic Nominal Phrases

The Macedonian nominal phrases that refer to all the units of a set of objects, i.e., the Macedonian generic nominal phrases, can be bare (i.e., without articles), with indefinite articles or with definite articles with the root *t*. It is not, however, the case that all three types of generic phrases occur in all environments.

4.1. Generic phrases referring to sets of animate objects which function as external arguments (or subjects) of extemporal clauses can be bare, or can occur with indefinite or definite articles, with slight difference in the interpretation:[30]

(50) a. *Lekar* *ne* *postapuva* *taka.*
physician not behave.3Sg so
'A physician does not behave like that.'

b. *Eden* *lekar* *ne* *postapuva* *taka.*
a.M.Sg physician not behave.3Sg so
'A physician does not behave like that.'

c. *Lekarot* *ne* *postapuva* *taka.*
physician+the.M.Sg not behave.3Sg so
'The physician does not behave like that.'

4.2. Generic phrases with inanimate nouns, which often occur in proverbs, can be bare or with a definite article, but not with an indefinite one:

(51) a. *Grom/* *gromot/* **eden* *grom* *ne* *udira*
thunder thunder+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg thunder not strike.3Sg
vo *kopriva.*
in nettle
'Thunder doesn't strike a nettle.'

[30] Thus, the generic noun in (50a) can be interpreted as 'a member of the sum of elements of the set of physicians', the generic phrase in (50b) can be interpreted as 'anyone who is a member of the sum of elements of a set of physicians', while the generic noun in (50c) can be interpreted as 'the person who is a member of the sum of elements of the set of physicians'.

(51) b. *Nesreќa/ nesreќata/ *edna nesreќa ne*
misfortune misfortune+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg misfortune not
doaġa sama.
come.3Sg alone.F.Sg
'Misfortune doesn't come alone.'

4.3. Generic phrases (with animate or inanimate nouns) functioning as external arguments in "is a" and "have a" clauses, have to have definite articles:

(52) a. *Kučeto/ *edno kuče/ *kuče e umno životno.*
dog+the.N.Sg a.N.Sg dog dog be.3Sg clever.N.Sg animal
'The dog is a clever animal.'

b. *Avtomobilot/ *eden avtomobil/ *avtomobil ima*
car+the.M.Sg a.F.Sg car car have.3Sg
četri trkala.
four wheels
'A car has four wheels.'

4.4. Generic phrases that are parts of nominal predicates, or occur as internal arguments of "is a" and "have a" clauses are, as a rule, bare:

(53) a. *Kučeto e cicač/ *eden *cicačot.*
dog+the.N.Sg be.3Sg mammal a.M.Sg mammal+the.M.Sg
'The dog is a mammal.'

b. *Nemaat učitel/ *eden učitel/ *učitelot.*
not+have.3Pl teacher a.M.Sg teacher teacher+the.M.Sg
'They do not have a teacher.'

4.4.1. In emphatic clauses, however, the generic noun of a nominal predicate can be preceded by an indefinite article:

(54) *Toj e eden TIRANIN.*
he be.3Sg a.M.Sg tyrant
'He is a TYRANT.'

4.5. Generic nouns used for direct address appear with indefinite articles:

(55) a. *Kuče edno!*
dog a.N.Sg
'You dog!'

b. *Magarinja edni!*
donkeys a.Pl
'You donkeys!'

4.6. Nominal phases with plural markers can also refer to all the units of a set of objects, i.e., can also be generic.

4.6.1. Bare plural generic phrases occur in environments analogous to those in which bare singular generic phrases do. Compare (50a) to (56a) and (53b) to (56b):

(56) a. *Lekari ne postapuvaat taka.*
physicians not behave.3Pl so
'Physicians do not behave like that.'

b. *Baraat učiteli.*
look-for.3Pl teachers
'They are looking for teachers.'

4.6.2. Plural generic phrases with definite articles occur in environments analogous to those in which their singular counterparts do. Compare (50c) to (57a) and (53a) to (57b):

(57) a. *Lekarite ne postapuvaat taka.*
physicians+the.Pl not behave.3Pl so
'Physicians do not behave like that.'

b. *Kučinjata se umni životni.*
dogs+the.Pl be.3Pl clever.Pl animals
'Dogs are clever animals.'

Chapter 8

Pronominals

1. Types of Pronominals

There are five basic types of pronominal forms in Macedonian: personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative/relative, and indefinite. Whereas the possessive, demonstrative, interrogative/relative, and indefinite pronominals operate as pronouns and as determiners, quantifiers, or modifiers,[1] the personal pronominals operate only as pronouns—function words embodying only the formal features of person, number, and (in the case of third person singular) gender.

2. Personal Pronouns

2.1. Forms of Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns have full nomin and full or clitic Dat and Acc forms for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and plural; the 3rd person singular forms also show gender distinctions and can be masculine, feminine, or neuter.[2] There is a (full) reflexive invariant pronominal form, with distinct Dat and Acc clitics.

2.1.1. The forms of the Macedonian personal pronouns are represented in Table 1.

Table 1. Macedonian Personal Pronouns

	Nomin	**Dat**		**Acc**	
		Full	**Cl**	**Full**	**Cl**
1Sg	*jas*	*mene*	*mi*	*mene*	*me*
1Pl	*nie*	*nam*	*ni*	*nas*	*ne*
2Sg	*ti*	*tebe*	*ti*	*tebe*	*te*
2Pl	*vie*	*vam*	*vi*	*vas*	*ve*
3Sg.M	*toj*	*nemu*	*mu*	*nego*	*go*
3Sg.Neut	*toa*	*nemu*	*mu*	*nego*	*go*
3Sg.F	*taa*	*nejze*	*i*	*nea*	*ja*

[1] I am using the term "pronominal" to cover the pronouns and the determiners, quantifiers, and/or modifiers that relate to them.

[2] The neuter gender Dat and Acc forms are equivalent to the masculine ones.

3Pl	*tie*	*nim*	*im*	*niv*	*gi*
Refl		*sebe*	*si*	*sebe*	*se*

2.1.2. The third person nominative forms *toj* 'he', *taa* 'she', *toa* 'it', and *tie* 'they' are equivalent to the deictic determiners/pronouns constructed from the root *t-*, from which they actually originate.[3]

2.1.3. In the northern Macedonian dialects, different third person personal pronouns, same as those used in Serbian/Croatian, are used—*on* for third person singular masculine, *ona* for third person singular feminine, *ono* for third person singular neuter, and *oni* for third person plural.[4]

2.2. Use of Personal Pronouns

While the non-oblique forms of the personal pronoun occur in external argument (subject) positions and in nominal predicates, the oblique forms are used in internal argument (direct and indirect object) positions, as well as in adjunct positions.

2.2.1. The use of the non-oblique forms is emphatic; in non-emphatic environments the pronoun is dropped,[5] its formal features being transferred to the verb through subject/verb agreement, though the information about the gender of the referent may have to be supplied by the context.

(1) a. *Taa* *si* *zamina* *včera.*
she Dat.Refl.Cl depart.3Sg.Aor yesterday
'SHE left yesterday.'

b. *Si* *zamina* *včera.*
Dat.Refl.Cl depart.3Sg.Aor yesterday
'(S)he left yesterday.'

2.2.2. The emphasis on the pronoun may be intensified by the articled forms of the modifiers *vistinski* 'real', *kutar* 'pitiable', and *siromašen* 'poor' (*cf.* $2a_1$–a_2), by the adverb *samo* 'only' (*cf.* 2b) and by universal articled quantifiers, such as *site*

[3] *Cf.* section 6 below.

[4] These pronouns originate from deictics referring to distal objects.

[5] Note that in conjoined structures, such as (i), the personal pronouns are not dropped:

'all+the.Pl', *samiot* 'alone+the.M.Sg' and *istiot* 'same+the.M.Sg, which are represented in (2c–e): [6]

(2) a_1 *Toa* *si* *vistinskiot* *ti.*
that.N.Sg be.2Sg true+the.M.Sg you.Sg
'That is the real you.'

a_2 *Što* *pretrpe,* *kutriot* *toj!*
what endure.3Sg pitiable+the.M.Sg he
'Pitiable him, he had to endure so much.' (lit. 'What did he have to endure, pitable he.')

b. *Dojde* *samo* *toj.*
come.3Sg.Aor only he
'Only he came.'

(i) *Jas i toj/ Jovan doaġame.*
I and he Jovan come.1Pl
'I and he/Jovan are coming.'

[6] The base derived position of quantifiers and intensifiers is to the left of the pronoun, but the pronouns can be moved to clause initial position.

(i) *Tie site mu se na usluga.*
they all+the.Pl 3Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Pl to service
'All of them are at his service.'

(ii) *Jas samiot mu go kažav toa.*
I alone+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl tell.1Sg.Aor that.M.Sg
'I myself told him that.'

(iii) *Taa istata go natepa.*
she same+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl beat.3Sg.Aor
'The same (female) person beat him up.'

A modifier can, however, occur to the right of the pronoun only when the pronoun is in an oblique form, as in (iv):

(iv) *Go vidov nego vistinskiot.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor him true+the.M.Sg
'I saw the real him.'

The pronoun in (iv) is moved to the left of its modifier for case assignment purposes—in order to be adjacent to the case-assigning verb.

(2) c. *Samiot* *jas* *mu* *go* *kažav*
alone+the.M.Sg I 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl tell.1Sg.Aor
toa.
that.N.Sg
'I myself told him that.'

d. *Istata* *taa* *go* *natepa.*
same+the.F.Sg she 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl beat-up.3Sg.Aor
'The same person beat him up.'

2.2.3. First person plural is more general than first person singular and can be used for reference to different persons. The following examples are from Koneski (1967: 365):

(3) a. *Jas, ti* *i* *toj* *vikame.*
I you.2Sg and he shout.1Pl
'I, you, and he are shouting.'

b. *Nie, vie* *i* *tie* *vikame.*
we you.2Pl and they shout.1Pl
'We, you, and they are shouting.'

2.2.4. The oblique pronominal forms functioning as direct and indirect objects are obligatorily doubled by Acc and Dat pronominal clitics.[7] The use of these doubled forms is actually emphatic and contrasts with the use of clitics alone:

(4) a. *Me* *vide.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he saw me.'

b. *Me* *vide* *mene.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor me.Acc
'(S)he saw ME.'

(5) a. *Mi* *go* *dade.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he gave it to me.'

[7] The Dat and Acc pronominal clitics also double direct and indirect objects represented by non-pronominal nominal phrases. The conditions for clitic-doubling are discussed in section 4 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause".

(5) b. *Mi* *go* *dade* *mene.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor me.Acc
'(S)he gave it to ME.'

2.2.5. In adjunct prepositional phrases not clitic but rather full Acc pronominal forms occur. Thus, (6a) is well formed, while (6b) is not:

(6) a. *Dojde* *so* *nea.*
come.3Sg.Aor with her.Acc
'(S)he came with her.'

b. **Dojde* *so* *ja.*
come.3Sg.Aor with 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

2.2.6. The reflexive pronoun *sebe* 'self' is used sparingly, and is modified by the Dat reflexive clitic *si* even when clitic-doubled—obligatorily when functioning as an indirect object (*cf.* (7a)), and optionally when functioning as a direct or prepositional object (*cf.* (7b) and (7c–d)):[8]

(7) a. *Si* *go* *dade* *sebe*(si).*
Dat.Refl.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor self+Dat.Refl.Cl
'(S)he gave it to herself/himself.'

b. *Prvo* *se* *izmiv* *sebe(si),* *a*
first Acc.Refl.Cl wash.1Sg.Aor self+Dat.Refl.Cl and
potoa *i* *deteto.*
after and child+the.N.Sg
'First I washed myself and then the child, too.'

c. *Go* *zede* *so* *sebe(si).*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Aor with self+Dat.Refl.Cl
'(S)he took it with her/him.' (lit. '(S)he took it with herself/himself.')

d. *(Si)* *misleše* *vo* *sebe(si).*
Dat.Refl.Cl think.3Sg.Imperf in self+Dat.Refl.Cl
'(S)he thought in herself/himself.'

[8] Note that the first reflexive clitic in (6d) is part of the lexical meaning of the verb (*cf.* 2.3.5 below).

2.2.7. In some southwestern Macedonian dialects, namely in the dialect of Bitola as well as in the adjoining Macedonian dialect spoken in northern Greece (in Lerin/ Florina and Voden/Edessa), the dative clitic has lost distinctions for number and gender, in favour of the masculine/neuter singular form *mu*. In the following examples from Bitola, the Dat clitic *mu* doubles a feminine singular noun, as well as a plural noun:

(8) a. *%Mu* *go* *dade* *na* *sestra* *ti.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor to sister 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'(S)he gave it to your sister.'

b. *%Mu* *go* *dade* *na* *decata.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor to children+the.Pl
'(S)he gave it to the children.'

2.2.8. In the southwestern dialect of Ohrid, the feminine dative singular and plural pronouns are used not only in indirect, but also in direct object positions:[9]

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[9] In the dialect of Ohrid, there is also a common Dat/Acc feminine singular pronominal clitic *e*. Note that in the western dialaect of Debar, the common Dat/Acc feminine singular pronominal clitic has two variants: *je*—used in preverbal and *ja*—used in post-verbal position.

(i) *%Je* *vidov.*
3Sg.F.Dat/Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor
'I saw her.'

(ii) *Vidi* *ja!*
see.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.F.Dat/Acc.Cl
'See her!'

In the southwesternmost area where Macedonian is spoken (in the Kostur (Kastoria) area, in northern Greece), the Acc forms, including the reflexive ones, have completely disappeared and Dat forms are used in direct object positions. Topolinjska (1995: 80–85) records the following examples (with my glosses and translation):

(iii) *%mi* *nosixa*
1Sg.Dat.Cl carry.3Pl.Imperf
'they carried me'

(iv) *%Mi* *čudi* *to* *na* *men.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl wonder.3Sg that to me.Dat/Acc
'I do wonder.' (lit. 'It wonders me.')

(v) *%Maxni* *mi* *si* *od* *tuka!*
move-out.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl from here
'Move out of my sight!' (lit. 'Move out of here!')

(9) a. *%Nejze* *e* *go* *dade.*
her.Dat 3Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he gave it to HER.'

b. *%Nejze* *e* *vide.*
her.Dat 3Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he saw HER.'

(10) a. *%Nimi* *im* *gi* *dade.*
them.Dat 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he gave it to THEM.'

b. *%Nimi* *gi* *vide.*
them.Dat 3Pl.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he saw THEM.'

2.3. Use of Reflexive Clitic Pronouns

The reflexive pronominal clitics are used not only for anaphoric reference, but also in passive, middle, and impersonal constructions, as well as in constructions in which they are actually part of the lexical meaning of the verb.[10]

2.3.1. For anaphoric reference, both the Dat and the Acc reflexive clitics are used. Reference can be made to single referents (as in $11a_1$ and $12a_1$) or to multiple ones; in the latter case, we may have a multiple number of individual references (as in $11b_1$ and $12b_1$ with reading 1) or reciprocals (as in $11c_1$ and $12b_1$ with reading 2). In all cases, usage is contingent on the coreferentiality of the referent of the clitic and the subject of the clause;[11] when the subject has distinct reference, a non-reflexive pronominal clitic is used. Thus, we have the following pairs of contrast:[12]

[10] I stick to the label "reflexive" because different labels might imply the existence of more than one homophonous form, which is not the case. There is only one Dat *si* form, and one Acc *se* form, though they may have different functions.

[11] In Marelj's (2004: 22–23) analysis, the clitic represents an internal θ-role, but is related to or bound by an external θ-role.

[12] The examples have human subjects. Note, however, that there is no restriction on the semantics of the subject. In (i), *se* is coreferential with an inanimate subject.

(i) *Kamenjata* *se* *strkalaa* *nadolu.*
rocks+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl roll.3Pl.Aor downwards
'The rocks rolled downwards.'

(11) a_1 *Petre* *se* *briči.*
Petre Acc.Refl.Cl shave.3Sg
'Petre is shaving himself.'

a_2 *Petre* *me* *briči.*
Petre 1Sg.Acc.Cl shave.3Sg
'Petre is shaving me.'

b_1 *Decata* *se* *oblekuvaat.*
children+the.N.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl dress-up.3Pl
'The children are dressing (themselves) up.'

b_2 *Decata* *me* *oblekuvaat.*
children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Acc.Cl dress-up.3Pl
'The children are dressing me up.'

c_1 *Decata* *se* *sakaat.*
children+the.N.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl love.3Pl
'The children love each other.'

c_2 *Decata* *me* *sakaat.*
children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Acc.Cl love.3Pl
'The children love me.'

(12) a_1 *Petre* *si* *pee.*
Petre Dat.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg
'Petre is singing to himself.'

a_2 *Petre* *mi* *pee.*
Petre 1Sg.Dat.Cl sing.3Sg
'Petre is singing to me.'

Note also that the reflexive clitic can be used without making any anaphoric reference. Thus, the verbs in the clauses (ii–iii), listed in Koneski (1967: 362), can be preceded by clitics that do not change their meaning:

(ii) *(Se)* *moželo* *li* *ništo* *da* *ne* *znaete?!*
Acc.Refl.Cl may.N.Sg.*l*-Part Inter.Cl nothing Subjun.Mark not know.2Pl
'Could it be that you do not know anything?!'

(iii) *Od* *maka* *(se)* *puknala.*
from toil Acc.Refl.Cl burst.F.Sg.*l*-Part
'She burst from toil.'

(12) b_1 *Decata* *si* *peat.*
children+the.N.Pl Dat.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl

1. 'Everyone of the children is singing to himself.'
2. 'The children are singing to each other.'

b_2 *Decata* *mi* *peat.*
children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Dat.Cl sing.3Pl

'The children are singing to me.'

2.3.2. Passives, middles, and impersonals employ only the Acc reflexive clitic. According to Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), whose analysis is carried out in a framework currently called "The Sign Model",[13] passives represent degrees of demotion of the initiator of the event/action and impersonals are passives in which the initiator of the event/action is conceptually present. For Marelj (2004: 217–50), whose analysis is in the framework of Tanya Reinhart's Theta Theory (*cf.* Reinhart 2002), not only in passives, but also in middles and impersonals, the external argument of the verb is saturated. There is a difference in the type of saturation, however; in passives, the external argument of the verb is existentially closed, while in middles and impersonals we have arbitrary saturation with a sortal restriction to humans.

2.3.2.1. Examples of passives are given in (13):

(13) a. *Knigata* *ì* *se* *pečati* *vo* *Rim.*
book+the.F.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl print.3Sg in Rome

'Her book is being printed in Rome.'

b. *Ovaa* *kuḱa* *dolgo* *se* *gradeše.*
this.F.Sg house long.Adv Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Sg.Imperf

'This house was being built for a long time.'

c. *Imeto* *ni* *se* *gazi.*
name+the.N.Sg 3Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl tread-on.3Sg

'Our name is obliterated.' (lit. 'Our name is trodden on.')

2.3.2.2. Examples of middles are given in (14):[14]

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[13] The model has been developed at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim.

[14] Middles typically contain adverbs of manner, but in contrastive environments can be used without such adverbs; thus, ($14a_2$) implies that there are other books that are not readable. In non-contrastive contexts, however, a *se*-clause without an adverb of manner can be interpreted both as a passive and as a middle. Example:

(14) a_1 *Ovaa* *kniga* *brgu* *se* *čita.*
this.F.Sg book fast Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg
'This book reads fast.'

a_2 *Ovaa* *kniga* *se* *čita.*
this.F.Sg book Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg
'This book is readable.'

b. *Slamenite* *pokrivi* *(lesno)* *se* *palat.*
straw.Adj+the.F.Pl roofs easily Acc.Refl.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl
'Straw roofs are easily set on fire.'

2.3.2.3. Examples of impersonals are given in (15):[15]

(15) a. *Ovde* *ne* *se* *pee.*
here not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg
'One does not sing here.'

(i) *Ne* *znam* *kade* *se* *kupuvaat* *ovie* *knigi.*
not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl buy.3Pl these books
1. 'I do not know where these books are being bought.'
2. 'I do not know where these books can be bought.'

Mitkovska (1995: 31) distinguishes three kinds of middles (pseudo-passives, in her terminology): potential, normative, and generalizing. The examples in (14) would be potential middles. She exemplifies the normative middles by examples such as (ii) and (iii) and the generalizing middles by examples such as (iv) and (v):

(ii) *Ne* *se* *igra* *so* *ogan.*
not Acc.Refl.Cl play.3Sg with fire
'One shouldn't play with fire.'

(iii) *Prašanjeto* *taka* *ne* *se* *postavuva.*
question+the.N.Sg that-way not Acc.Refl.Cl put.3Sg
'You shouldn't put the question that way.'

(iv) *Nekoi* *raboti* *se* *pravat* *od* *učtivost.*
some.Pl things Acc.Refl.Cl do.3Pl from politeness
'Some things are done out of politeness.'

(v) *Imeto* *ne* *se* *preveduva.*
name+the.N.Sg not Acc.Refl.Cl translate.3Sg
'The name is (usually/normally) not translated.'

[15] The Macedonian impersonals are represented by third person singular forms.

(15) b. *Mnogu ubavo se jadeše*
much beautifully Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg.Imperf
vo ovaa kuќa.
in this.F.Sg house
'One ate very well in this house.'

2.3.3. In clauses with verbs of a set including *tepa* 'beat', *butka* 'push', *udira* 'hit', *pluka* 'spit', *prska* 'splash with water', *grize* 'bite', *bacuva* 'kiss', *grebe* 'scratch', which could go under the general name of "inter-personal contact verbs", the *se*-clitic can "impersonate" the object. Marelj (2004: 247–50) argues that in *se*-constructions with such verbs, there is saturation of the internal role. Examples:[16]

(16) a. *Petre se tepa.*
Petre Acc.Refl.Cl beat.3Sg
1. 'Petre is beating some people/others.'
2. 'Petre beats people (in general).'

b. *Marija se grize.*
Marija Acc.Refl.Cl bite.3Sg
1. 'Marija is biting some people/others.'
2. 'Marija bites people (in general).'

2.3.4. There are *se*-constructions in clauses with Dat pronominal clitics or Dat phrases doubled by Dat clitics that are not part of the argument structure of the verb.

2.3.4.1. In *se*-constructions with anticausative verbs, the dative clitic (and the Dat prepositional phrase that it may double) is interpreted as a possessor or involuntary agent:[17]

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[16] The examples are mine. Marelj gives analogous Serbian examples.

[17] Rivero (2004) argues that these constructions involve Argument Suppression. Note that the occurrence of the Dat clitic (or the clitic-doubled Dat prepositional phrase) is not obligatory. Thus, (17a) and (17b) have as counterparts constructions without personal pronominal clitics (and Dat prepositional phrases)—(i) and (ii), respectively:

(i) *Se skrši golemata vazna.*
Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor big+the.F.Sg vase
'The big vase got broken.'

(ii) *Se skina fustanot.*
Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor dress+the.M.Sg
'The dress got torn.'

(17) a. *Mi* *se* *skrši* *golemata* *vazna.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor big+the.F.Sg vase

1. 'My big vase broke on me.'
2. 'My big vase got broken.'
3. 'I involuntarily caused the big vase to break.'

b. *(Na Marija)* *ì* *se* *skina* *fustanot.*
to Marija 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor dress+the.M.Sg

1. '(Marija's)/her dress got torn.'
2. '(Marija)/she involuntarily caused her dress to get torn.'

c. *Ti* *se* *rodila* *ḱerka.*
2Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl born.F.Sg.*l*-Part daughter

'You got a daughter, I hear.' (lit. 'A daughter was born to you, I hear.')

2.3.4.2. There are *se*-constructions that appear in clauses with non-argumental datives that have a "feel-like X" reading, in which relationship is established between an individual and an event.[18] Rivero (2004: 242–43) refers to this reading as "Dative Disclosure"[19] and argues that the dative is here identified as an implicit agent of the verb, which functions as the equivalent of an obligatory controller.[20] For Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999: 203) the "feel-like X" constructions are characterized by the suppression of the initiator of the event, witnessed by the fact that the initiator does not receive overt realization, as in passives. The "feel-like X" constructions are either impersonal, as in (18), or realize overtly as subject a non-initiator element, as in (19):[21]

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[18] Impersonal constructions with "feel like X" readings occur in many but not all Balkan languages. Thus, they occur in Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbian/Croatian, Albanian, Arli Balkan Romani, Aromanian, and Megleno-Romanian, but not in Romanian and Modern Greek. *Cf.* the chapter entitled "Cases and Articles" in Tomić (2006).

[19] Rivero gives examples from Bulgarian and Albanian.

[20] "Feel-like X" constructions report an attitude rather than an activity. Thus, (19b) tells us about the speaker's past urge to read, but does not imply that he did read, so the sentence can be uttered truthfully without a reading event, and completed without contradiction as in (i).

(i) *Na* *Ivana* *mu* *se* *čitaše,* *no*
to Ivan.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg.Imperf but
nemaše *što* *da* *čita.*
not+have.3Sg.Imperf what Subjun.Mark read.3Sg
'Ivan felt like reading, but there was nothing to read.'

[21] The non-argumental datives in passive *se*-constructions with an overtly realized non-initiator element (i.e., theme) may also have another passive reading. Thus, (19a) and (19b) may also have the recipient or beneficiary reading given in (i) and (ii), respectively:

(i) 'Songs were being sung to us.'

(18) a. *Ni* *se* *igra.*
1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl play.3Sg
'We feel like playing.' (lit. 'To us it feels like playing.')

b. *Na Ivana* *mu* *se* *čitaše.*
to Ivan.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg.Imperf
'Ivan felt like reading.' (lit. 'To Ivan it felt like reading.')

c. *Ì* *se* *odi* *na* *prošetka.*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg to walk
'She feels like going for a walk.' (lit. 'To her it feels like going for a walk.')

d. *Ne* *mu* *se* *umira.*
not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl die.3Sg
'He doesn't feel like dying.' (lit. 'To him it doesn't feel like dying.')

e. *Na Petko* *ne* *mu* *se* *raboteše*
to Petko not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl work.3Sg.Imperf
vo *fabrika.*
in factory
'Petko didn't feel like working in a factory.' (lit. 'To Petko it didn't feel like working in a factory.')

(19) a. *Ni* *se* *peeja* *pesni.*
1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg.Imperf songs
'We felt like singing songs.' (lit. 'To us it felt like singing songs.')

(ii) 'No house is being built for Petko.'

It is not, however, the case that every *se*-construction with overtly realized non-initiator element that has a "feel-like X" reading also has the "ordinary" passive reading. The following sentences have only the "feel-like X" reading:

(iii) *Mi* *se* *jade* *riba.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg fish
1. 'I feel like eating fish.'
2. '*A fish is being eaten to me.'

(iv) *Mu* *se* *pie* *voda.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl drink.3Sg water
1. 'He feels like drinking water.'
2. '*Water is being drunk to him.'

(19) b. *Na Petko ne mu se gradi kuќa.*
to Petko not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Sg house
'Petko doesn't feel like building a house.' (lit. 'To Petko it doesn't feel like building a house.'

2.3.5. The Acc or Dat reflexive clitic can be part of the lexical meaning of a closed class of verbs.[22] Contrast (20a) to (20b) and (21a) to (21b):

(20) a. *Ne znam kako da go*
not know.1Sg how Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
najdam ovoj grad.
find.1Sg.Pf.Pres this.M town
'I do not know how to find this town.'

b. *Ne znam kade se naoǵa ovoj grad.*
not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg this.M town
'I do not know where this town is.'

(21) a. *Utre odam (vo) Skopje.*
tomorrow go.1Sg in Skopje
'I am going to Skopje tomorrow.'

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[22] For example: *se smee* 'laugh', *se raduva* 'rejoice', *se plaši* 'be afraid', *se pojavuva* 'appear', *se naoǵa* 'be (found)', *se čini* 'seem', *si odi* 'depart'.

Note that many verbs can optionally be accompanied by the Dative reflexive clitic:

(i) *Toa (si) doaǵa samo od sebe.*
that Dat.Refl.Cl come.3Sg alone from self
'It comes/happens by itself.'

(ii) *Andon znaeše i (si) molčeše.*
Andon know.3Sg.Imperf and Dat.Refl.Cl keep-silent.3Sg.Imperf
'Andon knew, but kept silent.'

(iii) *Životot (si) go pomina so les.*
life+the.M.Sg Dat.Refl.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl pass.3Sg.Aor with ease
'(S)he had an easy life.' (lit. '(S)he passed his/her life with ease.')

(iv) *(Si) stanuvam vo pet i vednaš (si) pijam*
Dat.Refl.Cl get-up.1Sg in five and immediately Dat.Refl.Cl drink.1Sg
kafe.
coffee
'I get up at five and drink coffee immediately.'

The use of the dative reflexive clitic in these cases has a stylistic effect—it adds a note of intimacy.

(21) b. *Si* *odam* *utre.*
Dat.Refl.Cl go.1Sg tomorrow
'I am leaving tomorrow.'

The verb *naoǵa* without the Acc reflexive clitic means 'find', whereas with the clitic it means 'be (found)'. The verb *odi* without the Dat reflexive clitic means 'go', whereas with the clitic it means 'leave'. We are actually dealing with distinct lexical items.

2.3.6. In story-telling the Dat reflexive clitic regularly accompanies the 'be' and 'have' *l*-participles:

(22) *Si* *bil* *eden* *car* *i* *si*
Dat.Refl.Cl been.M.Sg.*l*-Part a.M.Sg king and Dat.Refl.Cl
imal *dva* *sina.*
had.M.Sg.*l*-Part two sons
'There was a king and he had two sons.'

3. Possessive Pronominals

Possessive pronominal relationships within the nominal phrase can be expressed by two sets of forms, one of which is non-clitic, the other clitic.

3.1. Possessive Pronominal Forms

Whereas the non-clitic possessive pronominal forms reflect the person, number, and (in the case of 3rd person singular) gender of the possessor, and show agreement with the gender and number features of the possessum, the possessive clitics show agreement only with the person, number, and (in the case of 3rd person singular) gender features of the possessor. Accordingly, there are 36 non-clitic possessive pronominal forms, and only eight possessive clitics.

3.1.1. The non-clitic possessive pronominal forms are given in Table 2:

Table 2. Non-Clitic Possessive Forms

	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl
1Sg	*moj*	*moja*	*moe*	*moi*
2Sg	*tvoj*	*tvoja*	*tvoe*	*tvoi*
3Sg.M/N	*negov*	*negova*	*negovo*	*negovi*
3Sg.F	*nejzin*	*nejzina*	*nejzino*	*nejzini*

1Pl	*naš*	*naša*	*naše*	*naši*
2Pl	*vaš*	*vaša*	*vaše*	*vaši*
3Pl	*niven/nivni*	*nivna*	*nivno*	*nivni*[23]
Refl	*svoj*	*svoja*	*svoe*	*svoi*

3.1.2. The forms of the possessive pronominal clitics are formally identical to Dat personal pronominal clitics.[24] They are given in Table 3:

Table 3. Possessive Clitics

1Sg	*mi*	1Pl	*ni*
2Sg	*ti*	2Pl	*vi*
3Sg.M/N	*mu*	3Pl	*im*
3Sg.F	*i*		
	Refl	*si*	

3.2. Use of the Possessive Pronominal Forms in the Nominal Phrase

Not only the agreement properties, but also the uses of the clitic and non-clitic possessive pronominal forms in the nominal phrase are different. While the non-clitic possessive forms are used as pronouns or as pre-nominal modifiers, the clitic possessive forms are used only as post-nominal modifiers.

3.2.1. The usage of the non-clitic possessive pronominal forms as pronouns is possible only in nominal predicates. Examples of this usage are given in (23):

(23) a. *Knigata* *e* *moja.*
book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg mine.F.Sg
'The book is mine.'

[23] In the southwestern dialects, the third person plural possessive forms would be *nixov* 'their.M.Sg', *nixova* 'their.F.Sg', *nixovo* 'their.N.Sg', *nixovi* 'their.Pl'.

[24] In all the Balkan Slavic languages, Dat relationships within the sentence (CP) and Genit relationships within the DP are expressed by the same forms. This does not (or at least does not always) imply that pre-existent Dat or Genit forms had become extinct. There is no clear evidence that possessive clitics in Balkan Slavic had ever occurred in a Genit form (*cf.* Pancheva 2004).

(23) b. *Ideite* *se* *nivni.*
idea+the.Pl be.Pl theirs.Pl
'The ideas are theirs.'

3.2.2. The pre-nominal possessive modifiers can refer to a variety of possessums that occur in definite or indefinite noun phrases in diverse positions. In (24a) we have an articled possessive modifier, which refers to a common noun functioning as a direct object and a non-articled possessive modifier, which refers to a human noun functioning as an indirect object, while in (24b) we have a possessive modifier that can but need not be articled and refers to an abstract noun in a predicative nominal.[25]

(24) a. *Mu* *ja* *dadov* *tvojata*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor your+the.F.Sg
kniga *na* *eden* *moj* *prijatel.*
book to a.M.Sg my.M.Sg friend
'I gave your book to a friend of mine.'

b. *Ova* *se* *nivni(te)* *predlozi.*
this.N be.3Pl their+the.Pl suggestions
'These are their suggestions.'

3.2.3. The possessive clitics in the nominal phrase can, as a rule, refer only to non-articled nouns denoting family relationship.[26] Thus, while (25a–c) are grammatical nominal phrases, (26a–c) are not:

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[25] The use of the articles is discussed in section 2.3 of chapter 7, entitled "The Category of Definiteness and Articles".

[26] The plural Dat clitics are used only in the southwestern Macedonian dialects.

For some speakers and in some dialects, the noun *maž,* which can have a possessive clitic when it has the reading 'husband' (not the reading 'man'), may be articled:

(i) *%Dojde* *maž(ot)* *i.*
come.3Sg.Aor husband+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'Her husband came.'

In colloquial Macedonian, there are some set phrases in which Dat clitics refer to common nouns, such as:

(ii) *%Toj* *e* *doma* *mi.*
he be.3Sg home 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'He is at my home.'

(iii) *%Toj* *e* *doma* *si.*
he be.3Sg home Dat.Refl.Cl
'He is at his home.'

(25) a. *majka mi/ ti/ mu/ ì*
mother 1Sg 2Sg 3Sg.M 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'my/your/his/her mother'

b. *sin ì/ %vi/ %im*
son 3Sg.F 2Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl
'her/your/their son'

c. *tetki mu/ %ni/ %vi*
aunts 3Sg.M 1Pl 2Pl.Dat.Cl
'his/our/your aunts'

(26) a. **kniga(ta) mi/ ti/ mu/ ì*
book+the.F.Sg 1Sg 2Sg 3Sg.M 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
purported reading: 'my/your/his/her book'

b. **son(ot) ì/ vi/ im*
dream+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F 2Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl
purported reading: 'her/your/their dream'

c. **želbi(te) mu/ ni/ vi*
desires+the.Pl 3Sg.M 1Pl 2Pl.Dat.Cl
purported reading: 'his/our/your desires'

3.2.3.1. When the possessive clitic has disjoint reference with a third person referred to by the subject of the clause, a personal possessive clitic is used:

(27) *Ì rekla na sestra ì/ *si.*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl said.3Sg.F.*l*-Part to sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Refl.Dat.Cl
'She$_i$ (reportedly) said to her$_j$ sister.'[27]

3.2.3.2. With possessums functioning as (direct or indirect) objects that have same reference as the subject of the clause, reflexive possessive pronominal clitics are, however, used:

Note that, in Bulgarian, examples analogous to (26a–c) are well formed. *Cf.* the section on Bulgarian in the chapter entitled "Cases and Articles" in Tomić (2006).

[27] The different indices (i and j) show that 'he' and 'his sister' have different reference.

L-participles are signals of evidentiality. *Cf.* section 10 in chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

(28) *Ja* *videl* *sestra* *si/* **i.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part sister Refl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'He$_i$ has (reportedly) seen his$_i$ (own) sister.'

3.2.3.3. The syntactic and phonologica behaviour of the possessive clitics is analogous to that of the definite articles (*cf.* Tomić 1996a), with which, as a rule, they do not co-occur.[28] Like the articles, the possessive clitics occur to the immediate right of the noun and form a prosodically restructured phonological word with them, with a stress on the antepenultimate syllable:[29]

(29) a$_1$ *BraTUčedot* *DOJde.*
cousin+the.M.Sg come.3Sg.Aor
'The cousin came.'

a$_2$ *BraTUčed* *mi* *DOJde.*
cousin 1Sg.Dat.Cl come.3Sg.Aor
'My cousin came.'

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[28] Thus, (i) is not acceptable:

(i) **Ja* *vidov* *bratučetkata* *mu.*
her.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor cousin.F+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
purported reading: 'I saw his cousin.'

Note, however, that in some Macedonian dialects, sentences in which possessive clitics encliticize to definite modifiers of nouns denoting family relationship are acceptable:

(ii) *%Postariot* *mi* *sin* *e* *vo* *Amerika.*
Compar+old.Def.+the.M.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl son be.3Sg in America
'My older son is in America.'

(iii) *%Pomladiot* *i* *brat* *ne* *e* *ovde.*
Compar+young.Def+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl brother not be.3Sg here
'Her younger brother is not here.'

In clauses of endearment, such as (iv) and (v), which are currently used in my (Ohrid) dialect, possessive clitics encliticize to noun modifiers that carry the definite article:

(iv) *%Ubavoto* *mi* *momiče!*
beautiful+the.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl girl.Dimin
'My beautiful little girl!'

(v) *%Moeto* *mi* *momiče!*
my+the.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl girl.Dimin
'My (dear) little girl!'

[29] In (29a$_2$) the noun has three syllables and the stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the noun, which is the antepenultimate syllable of the noun+possessive clitic complex; in (29b$_2$) the noun has four syllables but the stress again falls on the penultimate syllable of the noun, which is the antepenultimate syllable of the noun+possessive clitic complex.

(29) b_1 *BratuČETkata* *DOJde.*
cousin.F+the.F.Sg come.3Sg.Aor
'The (female) cousin came.'

b_2 *BratuČETka* *mi* *DOJde.*
cousin.F 1Sg.Dat.Cl come.3Sg.Aor
'My (female) cousin came.'

The Macedonian possessive nominal clitics actually seem to be on the way to become permanently attached to their antecedents, which leads to the conclusion that the Macedonian possessive clitics are inserted in nominal phrases with nouns denoting family relationship, along with those nouns.

3.2.4. In nominal phrases with nouns denoting family relationship both non-clitic and clitic possessive modifiers can be used, but the use of the clitic possessive modifiers is strongly preferred. As a matter of fact, as evident from the translation of (30b), in nominal phrases with nouns denoting family relationship, the non-clitic modifiers are emphatic:

(30) a. *Pismoto* *se* *naoǵa* *kaj* *ḱerka* *ti.*
letter+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at daughter 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'Your daughter has the letter.'

b. *Pismoto* *se* *naoǵa* *kaj* *TVOJATA* *ḱerka.*
letter+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at your+the.F.Sg daughter
'YOUR daughter has the letter (not mine).'

3.2.4.1. In contrastive contexts, the non-clitic possessive pronominal modifiers can, however, co-occur with possessive clitics with same person/number features:

(31) a. *Tatko* *mu* *NEGOV* *nikako* *da*
father 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl his.M.Sg not+anyway Subjun.Mark
razbere *vo* *što* *e* *rabotata.*
understand.3Sg.Pf.Pres in what be.3Sg matter+the.F.Sg
'HIS father cannot come to understand what is the matter!'

b. *Majka* *mi* *MOJA* *mnogu* *te* *saka.*
mother 1Sg.Dat.Cl my.F.Sg much 2Sg.Acc.Cl like.3Sg
'MY mother likes you very much.'

3.2.4.2. The co-occurrences of possessive clitics with possessive pronominal modifiers are analogous to co-occurrences of clitics with lexical possessors, such as those in (32), which have been treated as clitic-doublings in the nominal phrase (*cf.* Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1998).[30]

(32) a. *Tatko mu od/na Petreta nikako da*
father 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl of Petre.Acc not+anyway Subjun.Mark
razbere vo što e rabotata.
understand.3Sg.Pf.Pres in what be.3Sg matter+the.F.Sg
'Petre's father cannot come to understand what is the matter!'

b. *%Im go dal na tetki*
3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl given.M.Sg.*l*-Part to aunts
im od/na devojčinjava.
3Pl.Dat.Cl of girls+the.N.Sg.Prox1
'He has (reportedly) given it to the aunts of these girls.'

But in view of the fact that the pronominal clitic is inseparable from the noun, we might consider analysing the non-clitic pronominal modifiers in (31) and the possessive prepositional phrase in (32) as appositions.

3.3. Beneficiary Pronominal Clitics

3.3.1. The possessive clitic in the nominal phrase can appear to the immediate left of the verb. The mere appearance to the left of the verb, does not, however, qualify the Dat clitics as "pre-verbal". The clitics in (33) are nominal possessive clitics encliticizing to the nouns preceding them, although they are immediately followed by verbs:

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[30] Note, however, that prepositional possessor phrases with lexical possessors can appear to the left of nouns denoting family relationship, whereas possessive pronominal modifiers cannot:

(i) *Ja videl od/na Ana sestra i.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part of Ana sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'He has (reportedly) seen Ana's sister.'

(ii) **Ja videl nejzinata sestra i.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part her+the.F.Sg sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
purported reading: 'He has (reportedly) seen her sister.'

(33) a. *Ќerka* ← *im* *došla.*
daughter 3Pl.Dat.Cl come.F.Sg.*l*-Part
'Their daughter has (reportedly) come.'

b. *So* *majka* ← *mu* *ostanale* *decata.*
with mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl remained.Pl.*l*-Part children+the.Pl
'The children (reportedly) remained with his mother.'

3.3.2. The nominal Dat clitics in (33) are distinct from pre-verbal Dat clitics procliticizing to verbs, even in cases such as (34), when the latter clitics are given possessive interpretation.

(34) a. *Bolno* *mu* → *bilo* *deteto.*
sick.N.Sg 3Sg.M. Dat.Cl be.N.Sg.*l*-Part child+the.N.Sg
'His child is said to be sick.'

b. *Edno* *pismo* *ni* → *zaginalo.*
a.N.Sg letter 1Pl.Dat.Cl lost.N.Sg.*l*-Part
'A letter of ours got (reportedly) lost.'

c. *Vi* → *gi* → *znam* *greškite.*
2Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl know.1sg faults+the.Pl
'I know your faults.'

3.3.3. Clitics such as the ones in (33) can be separated from the verb by various lexical constituents, while clitics such as those in (34), have to occur to the immediate left of the verb or to the left of clausal clitics that are immediately followed by the verb. Thus, while the clauses in (35) are acceptable, the ones in (36) are not:

(35) a. *Ќerka* *im* *zaedno* *so* *nego* *došla.*
daughter 3Pl.Dat.Cl together with him come.F.Sg.*l*-Part
'Their daughter came together with him.'

b. *So* *majka* *mu* *decata* *dolgo*
with mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl children+the.Pl yesterday
ostanale.
remained.Pl.*l*-Part
'The children stayed long with his mother.'

(36) a. **Bolno mu nekolku dena bilo*
sick.N.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl several days be.N.Sg.*l*-Part

deteto.
child+the.N.Sg

purported reading: 'His child was (reportedly) sick for several days.'

b. **Edno pismo ni vo poštata zaginalo.*
a.N.Sg letter 1Pl.Dat.Cl in mai+the.F.Sg lost.N.Sg.*l*-Part

purported reading: 'A letter of ours got lost in the mail.'

c. **Vi gi dolgo vreme znam greškite.*
2Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl long time know.1sg faults+the.Pl

purported reading: 'I have known your faults for a long time.'

3.3.4. Since they are outside of the nominal expression, the clausal clitics which express possession have been referred to as "external possession clitics" (*cf.* Paine and Barshi 1999).[31] I am, however, relying on the fact that the clausal clitics which express possession refer to objects that are affected by or benefit from the action of the verb, and am referring to these clitics as "beneficiary Dat clitics".[32] In the Balkan Slavic languages, the beneficiary Dat clitics are typically formally identical to both the Dat argument clitics and to the pronominal clitics of the nominal phrase.

3.3.5. The Balkan beneficiary Dat clitics have been analysed as nominal possessives that move to a position typically occupied by verbal arguments (*cf.* Avram and Coene 2000, Stateva 2002). There are, however, many arguments against a movement analysis of these clitics.

3.3.5.1. While the nominal Dat clitics can refer only to nouns denoting family relationships to which no articles are attached (*cf.* 3.2.3 above), the clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation can, as shown in (34), refer to different human or non-human, definite or indefinite nouns.

3.3.5.2. In many cases, the possessive reading of the non-argumental preverbal Dat clitics is very closely related to non-possessive readings. The Dat clitic in (37), for example, is three-ways ambiguous. It can be a beneficiary Dat clitic with possessive interpretation, a beneficiary Dat clitic with non-possessive beneficiary interpretation or a Dat clitic instantiating an indirect object:

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[31] Haspelmath (1999) argues that the external possession clitics (in languages that have Dat clitics) go back to an early stage of the history of the Indo-European family, but were lost in the western and northern periphery of Europe and can be characterized as an areal feature of a Central and South European Sprachbund.

[32] *Cf.* Tomić (2006): the section on Macedonian in the chapter "Cases and Articles".

(37) *Mi* *ja* *otvori* *vratata.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl open.3Sg.Aor door+the.F.Sg

1. '(S)he opened my door.'
2. '(S)he opened the door instead of me (since I could not put the key in the keyhole).'
3. '(S)he opened the door for me.'

3.3.5.3. The Dat clitics in the nominal phrase can co-occur not only with argument clausal Dat clitics (*cf.* 38a), but also with beneficiary clausal Dat clitics, which in this case do not have a possessive interpretation, (*cf.* 38b):

(38) a. *Vujko* *mu* *mu* *rekol* *da*
uncle 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl said.M.Sg.*l*-Part Subjun.Mark
dojdat.
come.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'His uncle (reportedly) told him that they should come.'

b. *Sestra* *mi* *mi* *izbega.*
sister 1Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl run-away.3Sg.Aor
'My sister ran away on me (and I couldn't catch her).'

3.3.6. Clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation should be distinguished from ethical Dat clitics, such as the one in (39), which are parenthetical devices for expressing intimacy:

(39) *Deneska* *sum* *ti* *stanala* *vo* *pet.*
today be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl get-up.F.Sg.*l*-Part in five
'Today I got up at five, you know.'

3.3.6.1. Both DP possessive clitics and clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation, as well as argument Dat clitics, can co-occur with ethical Dat clitics.[33] In (40a)

[33] Unlike the argument Dat clitics and the beneficiary Dat clitics, however, the ethical dative clitics can appear either to the left or to the right of auxiliary clitics.

(i) *Sum* *ti* *ja* *čital* *knigata*
be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.M.Sg.*l*-Part book+the.F.Sg
cela *noḱ.*
whole.F.Sg night

we have a sequence of a DP possessive clitic, an ethical Dat clitic and an argument Dat clitic; in (40b) we have a sequence of a DP possessive clitic, an ethical Dat clitic and a beneficiary Dat clausal clitic (with possessive interpretation):

(40) a. *Vujko* *ti* *ti* *im* *rekol*
uncle 2Sg.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl said.M.Sg.*l*-Part
da *dojdat.*
Subjun.Mark come.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'Your uncle has (reportedly) told them to come, you know.'

b. *Sin* *mu* *ti* *mu* *bil*
son 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.M.Sg.*l*-Part
bolen.
sick.M.Sg
'His son is (reportedly) sick, you know.'

3.3.6.2. The ethical clitics in (40) are second person singular Dat clitics. Though most frequent, these clitics are not the only ethical Dat clitics. Moreover, there are idioms in which two ethical dative clitics appear in a sequence. In (41a) we have an example of first person singular or first person plural ethical Dat clitics; in (41b) an example of a third person masculine singular ethical Dat clitic; in (41c) an idiom with two ethical clitics in a sequence:

(41) a. *Kako* *mi/* *ni* *ste?*
how 1Sg Pl.Eth.Dat.Cl be.3Pl
'How are you, my/our dear ones?'

b. *Nemoj* *da* *mu* *misliš*
not+can.2Sg.Imper Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M/N.Eth.Dat.Cl think.2Sg
mnogu!
much
'Don't hesitate!' (lit. "Do not think much!")

(ii) *Ti* *sum* *ja* *čital* *knigata*
2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl be.1Sg 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.M.Sg.*l*-Part book+the.F.Sg
cela *noḱ.*
whole.F.Sg night
'I have been reading the book the whole night, you know.'

(41) c. *Takva* *mi* *ti* *rabota.*
such.F.Sg 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl thing
'That is how things are, you know.'

4. 'Wh' Words

Macedonian has one inflecting 'wh' word functioning as an interrogative or relative pronoun or determiner—*koj* 'who/which', three inflecting 'wh' words functioning as interrogative or relative pronouns or modifiers—*kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size' and *čij* 'whose', one invariant 'wh' word functioning as an interrogative or relative pronoun or modifier—*što* 'what', as well as five adverbial 'wh' words—*koga* 'when', *kade* 'where', *kako* 'how', and *kolku* 'how many/much'.

4.1. *koj*

Koj has two distinct sets of forms when used as an interrogative pronominal and one set of forms when used as a relative pronominal.

4.1.1. The interrogative pronoun *koj* appears in two attires. We actually have two interrogative *kojs*—a [+human] koj_1 'who' and a [±human] koj_2 'which'.

4.1.1.1. Koj_1 'who', does not inflect for number and gender but inflects for case, so that, in addition to *koj*, which is its Nomin form, it has an Acc form *kogo*, and a Dat form *komu*. As illustrated in (42) these forms may refer to persons of any gender or number.

(42) a. Q: *Koj* *dojde?*
who come.3Sg.Aor
'Who came?'

A: *Nikola/ eden* *čovek/ edna* *žena/* *edno* *dete.*
Nikola a.M.Sg man a.F.Sg woman a.N.Sg child

b. Q: *Kogo* *vide?*
whom see.2/3Sg.Aor
'Who (of the persons we know) did you/(s)he see?'

A: *Ana/ eden* *čovek/ edna* *žena/* *edni* *deca.*
Ana a.M.Sg man a.F.Sg woman a.Pl children

c. Q: *Komu* *dade* *cveḱe?*
whom.Dat give.2/3Sg.Aor flower
'To whom did you/(s)he give flowers?'

(42) c. A: *Na Nikola/ na edni devojki.*
to Nikola to a.Pl girls

4.1.1.2. *Koj*$_2$ 'which' inflects for gender and number, has the forms *koj* 'M.Sg', *koja* 'F.Sg', *koe* 'N.Sg', *koi* 'Pl' and is used as a pronoun or as a determiner. Examples:[34]

(43) a. *Koj (čovek/ moliv) go najdovte?*
which.M.Sg man pencil 3Sg.Acc.Cl find.2Pl.Aor
'Which one/(man/pencil) did you find?'

b. *Koja (devojka/ kniga/ pretstava) ja vidovte?*
which.F.Sg girl book show 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.2Pl.Aor
'Which one/(girl/book/show) did you see?'

4.1.2. The relative pronoun *koj* 'who/which' inflects for gender, number and, when referring to [+human] masculine singular nouns, for case. The forms of this pronominal are given in Table 4.[35]

Table 4. Forms of the Relative Pronoun *koj* 'who/which'

	Nomin	Acc	Dat
M.Sg [+human]	*koj*	*kogo*	*komu*
M.Sg [− human]	*koj*	*koj*	—
F.Sg	*koja*	*koja*	—
N.Sg	*koe*	*koe*	—
Pl	*koi*	—	—

4.2. *kakov, kolkav,* and *čij*

The 'wh' words *kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose' inflect for gender and number.

4.2.1. The forms of *kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose' are given in Table 5:

[34] As shown by the variety of nouns in the brackets, *koj*$_2$ refers to or determines both animate and inanimate, and both concrete and abstract nouns.

[35] The use of the relative pronominal *koj* is discussed in section 4.3 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause", and throughout chapter 14, entitled "Relative Clauses".

Table 5. Forms of *kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose'

	Qualitative	Quantitative	Possessive
M.Sg	*kakov*	*kolkav*	*čij*
F.Sg	*kakva*	*kolkava*	*čija*
N.Sg	*kakvo*	*kolkavo*	*čie*
Pl	*kakvi*	*kolkavi*	*čii*

4.2.2. The usage of *kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose' as interrogative modifiers or pronouns is illustrated in (43):[36]

(44) a. *Kakov (učitel/ moliv/ fustan) sakaš?*
what-kind.M.Sg teacher pencil dress want.2Sg
'What kind (of a teacher/pencil/dress) do you want?'

b$_1$ *Kolkava pauza/ torta imate?*
what-size.F.Sg pause cake make.2Pl
'How long a pause/how big a cake do you have?'

b$_2$ *Kolkava e kuќata?*
what-size.F.Sg be.3Sg house+the.F.Sg
'How big is the house?'

c$_1$ *Čii knigi/ konduri zaginaa?*
whose books shoes get-lost.3Pl.Aor
'Whose books/shoes got lost?'

c$_2$ *Čii se knigite/ kondurite?*
whose be.3Pl books+the.Pl shoes+the.Pl
'Whose are the books/shoes?'

4.3. *što*

Što can be used as a pronoun or as a modifier in interrogative clauses and as a pronoun in relative clauses.

4.3.1. Used as an interrogative pronoun, *što* has the reading 'what' and a wide usage:

[36] The usage of *kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose' as a relative pronoun is discussed in section 2.1 of chapter 14, entitled "Relative Clauses".

(45) Q: *Što* *sakaš?*
what want-for.2Sg
'What do you want?'

A_1: *Sakam* *edno* *mače/* *edno* *kilo* *krompiri.*
want.1Sg a.N.Sg kitten a.N.Sg kilogram potatoes
'I want a kitten/a kilogram of potatoes.'

A_2: *Tebe* *te* *sakam.*
you.Acc 2Sg.Acc.Cl want.1Sg
'I want you.'

A_3: *Sakam* *da* *dojdeš* *vednaš.*
want.1Sg Subjun.Mark come.2Sg.Pf.Pres immediately
'I want you to come immediately.'

4.3.2. As an interrogative modifier, with the reading 'what kind', *što* is used only in colloquial Macedonian:

(46) a. *%Što* *čovek* *e* *toj?*
what-kind man be.3Sg he
'What for a man is he?'

b. *%Što* *fustan* *sakaš?*
what-kind dress want.2Sg
'What kind of dress do you want?'

c. *%Što* *vreme* *imavte?*
what-kind weather have.3Sg.Imperf
'What kind of weather did you have?'

4.3.3. Used as a relative pronoun, *što* has the reading 'that' and, as a rule, refers to definite or specific nouns.[37]

[37] The use of *what* as a relative pronoun is discussed in section 4.3 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause", and throughout chapter 14, entitled "Relative Clauses".

4.4. *koga, kade,* and *kako*

The adverbial 'wh' words *koga* 'when', *kade* 'where', and *kako* 'how' function as interrogative adverbs,[38] while the adverbial 'wh' word *kolku* 'how many/much' functions as an interrogative adverb or quantifier.[39]

4.4.1. The use of *koga* 'when', *kade* 'where', and *kako* 'how' is illustrated in (47):

(47) a. *Koga* *dojde?*
when come.2/3Sg.Aor
'When did you/(s)he come?'

b. *Kade* *ќe* *odiš?*
where will.Mod.Cl go.2Sg
'Where will you go?'

c. *Kako* *si?*
how be.2Sg
'How are you?'

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[38] In the southwestern Macedonian dialects there is a special kind of locative interrogative adverb—*kamo* 'where-to', which occurs only in clauses with 'be' auxiliary clitics, such as (i) or in clauses with pronominal clitics, but without overt verb, such as (ii–iii):

(i) *%Kamo* *ti* *se* *gostite?*
where-to 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Pl guests+the.Pl
'Where are your guests?'

(ii) *%Kamo* *ti* *go* *tatko* *ti?*
where-to 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl father 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'Where is your father?'

(iii) *%Kamo* *MI* *ti* *e* *knigata?*
where-to 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg book+the.F.Sg
'Where is your book, my dear little one?'

The Dat clausal clitic in question (iii) expresses endearment. The answer to this question often contain the presentative *evo* 'voila':

(v) *%Evo* *mi* *go.*
voila 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl
'Here he/it is (for me).'

(vi) *%Evo* *mi* *se.*
voila 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Pl
'Here they are (for me).'

[39] All of these adverbs also appear in embedded interrogative clauses. *Cf.* section 2.3 in chapter 13, entitled "Interrogative Clauses".

4.4.2. The use of *kolku* is illustrated in (48). As it may be observed, when it quantifies or refers to enumerable nouns, it has the reading 'how many', when it quantifies or refers to mass nouns it has the reading 'how much':

(48) a. *Kolku* *(knigi/* *fustani)* *imaš?*
how-many books dresses have.2Sg
'How many (books/dresses) do you have?'

b. *Kolku* *(vreme)* *ќe* *ti* *treba?*
how-much time will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl need.3Sg
'How much time will you need?'

5. Indefinite Pronominals

The Macedonian 'wh' words serve as bases for the derivation of sets of indefinite pronominals, by the addition of the prefixes *ne-, se-, ni-, po-+ne,* or the postmodifiers *-gode, (%da)-bilo,* or *(i)-da-e.*[40] The pronominals derived with the prefix *ne-* are basic indefinite pronominals. The other indefinite pronominals have distinct features in addition to indefiniteness. The pronominals with *ni-* are negative, the pronominals with *se-* are generalizing,[41] the pronominals with *po-+ne-* are distributive, whereas the pronominals with *-gode, (%da)-bilo,* and *(i)-da-e* are alternative.[42]

5.1. Indefinite Pronouns Derived from the 'wh' Word *što* 'what'

The indefinite pronouns with *što* 'what' as a base are mainly used as pronouns.

5.1.1. The forms of the indefinite pronouns derived from the 'wh' word *što* 'what' are given in Table 6:

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[40] *Da bilo* and *i da e* can be analyzed as follows:

(i) *da* *bilo*
Subjun.Mark be.N.Sg.*l*-Part

(ii) *i* *da* *e*
and Subjun.Mark be.3Sg

[41] Note that there is an indefinite generalizing pronoun, *sè* 'everything', which is not based on a 'wh' word.

[42] The alternative pronominals with *-gode* and *da-e* (without *i*) usually have negative connotations.

Table 6. Indefinite Pronominals Derived from *što* 'what'

nešto	'something'
ništo	'nothing'
sešto	'all kinds of things'
ponešto	'some (of X things)'
što-gode	'anything/whatever'
što-(%da)-bilo	'anything/whatever'
što-(i)-da-e	'anything/whatever'

5.1.2. The usage of the indefinite pronouns derived from the 'wh' word *što* 'what' is illustrated in (49):[43]

(49) a. *Petko bara nešto.*
Petko demand/ask-for/look-for.3Sg something
'Petko is demanding/asking for/looking for something.'

[43] The indefinite pronoun *nešto* can be also used as a modifier and in this case it has the reading 'some/a certain quantity of'. *Ništo* and *ponešto* can also be used with postmodifiers:

(i) *Nemam ništo za davanje.*
not+have.1Sg nothing for giving
'I have nothing to give.'

(ii) *Imam ponešto za tebe.*
have.1Sg something.Distr for you
'I have something (of the things available) for you.'

In the southwestern Macedonian dialects, the indefinite pronoun *nešto* can be also used as a modifier and in this case it has the reading 'some/a certain quantity of':

(iii) *%Petko bara nešto pari.*
Petko demand/ask-for/look-for.3Sg some money
'Petko is demanding/asking for some money.'

(iv) *%Imam nešto vreme.*
have.1Sg some time
'I have some time.'

The indefinite pronouns *što-gode* and *što-da-e* can in some dialects be used as modifiers with a pejorative sense:

(v) *%što-gode/-da-e zbor*
whatever word
'nonsense (lit. 'a whatever word')

(49) b. *Ne znam ništo.*
not know.1Sg nothing

1. 'I do not know anything.'
2. 'I know nothing.'

c. *Mi kaža sešto.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl tell.3Sg.Aor all-kinds-of-things

'(S)he told me all kinds of things.'

d. *Mi dade ponešto.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor something.Distr

'(S)he gave me a thing or two.'

e_1 *Zboruva što-gode/-da-e!*
speak/talk.3Sg whatever

'(S)he is talking nonsense.' (lit. '(S)he is talking whatever.')

e_2 *Dajte mi što-(%da)-bilo/-*(i)-da-e!*
give.2Pl.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl anything/whatever

'Give me anything/whatever (you can)!'

5.2. Indefinite Pronominals Derived from the 'wh' Word koj_1 'who'

The indefinite pronominals derived from the "wh" word koj_1 'who' are [+human] basic, negative, generalizing, distributive, or alternative pronouns that do not show gender distinctions.

5.2.1. These pronouns inflect for case and we have the following forms:

Table 7. Indefinite Pronouns Derived from koj_1 'who'

Nomin	Acc	Dat	
nekoj	*nekogo*	*nekomu*	'somebody/someone'
nikoj	*nikogo*	*nikomu*	'nobody/noone'
sekoj	*sekogo*	*sekomu*	'everybody/everyone'
ponekoj	*ponekogo*	*ponekomu*	'some (of X persons)'
koj-gode	*kogo-gode*	*komu-gode*	'whover/anybody/anyone'
koj-(%da)	*kogo-(%da)*	*komu-(%da)*	
-bilo	*-bilo*	*-bilo*	'anybody/anyone/whoever'
koj-(i)-da-e	*kogo-(i)-da-e*	*komu-(i)-da-e*	'anybody/anyone/whoever'

5.2.2. The usage of the indefinite pronominals derived from the 'wh' word *koj* 'who' is illustrated in (50):

(50) a$_1$ *Te* *bara* *nekoj.*
2Sg.Acc.Cl demand/ask-for/look-for.3Sg somebody

'Somebody is looking for you.'

a$_2$ *Se* *sretna* *so* *nekogo.*
Acc.Refl.Cl meet.3Sg.Aor with somebody.Acc

'(S)he met somebody.'

a$_3$ *Ja* *dade* *knigata* *nekomu.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg somebody.Dat

'(S)he gave the book to somebody.'

b$_1$ *Ne* *te* *bara* *nikoj.*
not 2Sg.Acc.Cl demand/ask-for/look-for.3Sg obody

'Nobody is looking for you.'

b$_2$ *Ne* *se* *sretna* *so* *nikogo.*
not Acc.Refl.Cl meet.3Sg.Aor with nobody.Acc

1. '(S)he didn't meet anybody.'
2. 'She met nobody.'

b$_3$ *Ne* *ja* *dade* *knigata* *nikomu.*
not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg nobody.Dat

1. '(S)he didn't give the book to anybody.'
2. '(S)he gave the book to nobody.'

c$_1$ *Sekoj* *bara* *ponešto.*
everybody demand/ask-for/look-for.3Sg something.Distr

'Everybody is asking/looking for some of the things (available).'

c$_2$ *Zboruva* *so* *sekogo.*
talk.3Sg with everybody.Acc

'(S)he is talking to everybody.'

c$_3$ *Sekomu* *dade* *ponešto.*
everybody.Dat give.3Sg.Aor something.Distr

'(S)he gave to everybody some of the things (available).'

d$_1$ *Pokanil* *kogo-gode!*
invite.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part whoever.Acc

'He invited people of low standing.' (lit. 'He invited whoever!')

(50) d_2 *Koj-(%da)-bilo* *da* *dojde* *dobredojden*
whoever Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres welcome.M.Sg
e!
be.3Sg
'Whoever comes is welcome!'

d_3 *Daj* *go* *komu-(%da)-bilo/-(i)-da-e!*
give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl whoever.Dat
'Give it to whoever you want!'

5.3. Indefinite Pronominals Derived from the 'wh' Word koj_2 'who/which'

The indefinite pronominals derived from the 'wh' word *koj_2* 'which' are primarily used as determiners, but can also be used as pronouns.

5.3.1. These indefinite pronominals inflect for gender and number and we have the forms listed in Table 8:[44]

Table 8. Indefinite Pronominals Derived from *koj_2* 'which'

M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl	
nekoj	*nekoja*	*nekoe*	*nekoi*	'some'
nikoj	*nikoja*	*nikoe*	*nikoi*	'no/none'
sekoj	*sekoja*	*sekoe*	—	'every'
ponekoj	*ponekoja*	*ponekoe*	*ponekoi*	'some (of X persons)'
koj-gode	*koja-gode*	*koe-gode*	*koi-gode*	'whichever/any'
koj-(%da) *-bilo*	*koja-(%da)* *-bilo*	*koe-(%da)* *-bilo*	*koi-(%da)* *-bilo*	'any/whichever'
koj-(i)- *da-e*	*kogo-(i)-* *da-e*	*komu-(i)-* *da-e*	*koi-(i)-* *da-e*	'any/whichever'

5.3.2. The usage of the forms in Table 8 as pronouns is illustrated in (51):[45]

(51) a. Q: *Koja* *prijatelka* *gi* *posetila?*
which.F.Sg friend.F 3Pl.Acc.Cl visit.F.Sg.*l*-Part
'Which friend has paid them a visit?'

[44] The plural form of *sekoj* 'every' does not relate to *koj* 'which'. It is actually formally equivalent to the universal articled quantifier *site* 'all'.

[45] The use of the forms in Table 8 as determiners is illustrated in section 2.2.2 of chapter 7 entitled "The Category of Definiteness and the Articles".

(51) a. A: *Nekoja* *što* *ne* *ja* *znam.*
some.F.Sg that not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl know.1Sg

'Some friend that I do not know.'

b. Q: *Koja* *slika* *ti* *se* *bendisuva?*
which.F.Sg picture 2Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl please.3Sg

'Which picture do you like?' (lit. 'Which picture pleases you?')

A_1: *Nikoja* *ne* *mi* *se* *bendisuva.*
none not 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl like.3Sg

2. 'I do not like any (of them).'
1. 'None pleases me.'

A_2: *Sekoja* *mi* *se* *bendisuva.*
every.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl like.3Sg

1. 'I like every one (of them).'
2. 'Every one (of them) pleases me.'

c. Q: *Site* *orevi* *se* *šuplivi?*
all+the.Pl walnuts be.3Pl rotten.Pl

'Are all the walnuts rotten?'

A: *Ne,* *samo* *ponekoi.*
no only some.Pl.Distr

'No, only some (of them).'

d. Q: *Koe* *mesto* *go* *sakaš?*
which.N.Sg place 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl like.2Sg

'Which place do you like?'

A: *Koe-(%da)-bilo/-*(i)-da-e.*
any.N.Sg

'Any.'

5.4. Indefinite Pronominals Derived from the 'wh' Words *kakov* 'what kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose

The indefinite pronominals derived from the 'wh' word *kakov* 'what kind', *kolkav* 'what size', and *čij* 'whose' can be used as pronouns or modifiers.

5.4.1. Inflecting for gender and number, like the 'wh' words *kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose', the indefinite pronominals derived from these interrogative pronouns have the forms shown in Table 9:

Table 9. Forms of indefinite Pronominals Derived from the 'wh' Words kakov *'what-kind'*, kolkav *'what-size', and* čij *'whose'*

Qualitative					
	M.Sg	*nekakov*	*nikakov*	*sekakov*	*kakov-gode/(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	F.Sg	*nekakva*	*nikakva*	*sekakva*	*kakva-gode/(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	N.Sg	*nekakvo*	*nikakvo*	*sekakvo*	*kakvo-gode/(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	Pl	*nekakvi*	*nikakvi*	*sekakvi*	*kakvi-gode/(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
Quantitative					
	M.Sg	*nekolkav*	*nikolkav*	*sekolkav*	*kolkav-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	F.Sg	*nekolkava*	*nikolkava*	*sekolkava*	*kolkava-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	N.Sg	*nekolkavo*	*nikolkavo*	*sekolkavo*	*kolkavo-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	Pl	*nekolkavi*	*nikolkavi*	*sekolkavi*	*kolkavi-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-se*
Possessive					
	M.Sg	*nečij*	*ničij*	*sečij*	*čij-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	F.Sg	*nečija*	*ničija*	*sečija*	*čija-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	N.Sg	*nečie*	*ničie*	*sečie*	*čie-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
	Pl	*nečii*	*ničii*	*sečii*	*čii-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-se*

5.4.2. The usage of the indefinite pronominals derived from the 'wh' word *kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose' as quailtative, quantitative and possessive determiners is illustrated in (52), (53), and (54), respectively: [46]

(52) a. *Bara* *nekakov* *moliv.*
ask-for/look-for.3Sg of-some-kind.M.Sg pencil
'(S)he is looking for some (kind of) a pencil.'

b. *Nemam* *nikakov* *moliv.*
not+have.1Sg of-no-kind.M.Sg pencil
'I have no (kind of a) pencil.'

c. *Postavuvaat* *sekakvi* *prašanja.*
put.3Pl of-all-kinds.Pl questions
'They are asking all kinds of questions.'

[46] Since quantity can hardly be indefinite, negative, or general, the usage of the quantitative determiners is questionable.

(52) d_1 *Ne sakam kakov-gode fustan.*
not want.1Sg whatsoever-kind.M.Sg dress

'I do not want a dress of a bad kind.' (lit. 'I do not want a whatsoever kind of a dress.')

d_2 *Dajte mi kakva-(%da)-bilo/-(i)-da-e karta!*
give.2Pl.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl of-any-kind.F.Sg ticket

'Give me any (kind of a) ticket!'

(53) a. *??Bara nekolkavo kajče.*
ask-for/look-for.3Sg of-some-size.N.Sg boat

'(S)he is looking for a boat of some size.'

b. *?Nemam nikolkavo kajče.*
not-have.1Sg of-no-size.N.Sg boat

'I don't have a boat of any size whatever.' (lit. 'I don't have a boat of no size.')

c. *?Postavuvaat sekolkavi prašanja.*
put.3Pl of-all-sizes.Pl questions

'They are asking long and short questions.' (lit. 'They are asking questions of all sizes.')

d. *Dajte mi kolkavo-(%da)-bilo/-(i)-da-e jagne!*
give.2Pl.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl of-any-size.N.Sg lamb

'Give me a lamb of any size!'

(54) a. *Bara nečie kajče.*
ask-for/look-for.3Sg somebody's.N.Sg boat

'(S)he is looking for somebody's boat.'

b. *Nemam ničie kajče.*
not-have.1Sg nobody's.N.Sg boat

1. 'I don't have anybody's boat.'
2. 'I have nobody's boat.'

c. *Čuvaat sečii kajčinja.*
keep/look-for.3Pl everybody's.Pl boats

'They are keeping everybody's boats.'

(54) d. *Dajte* *mi* *čie-(%da)-bilo/-(i)-da-e* *kajče!*
give.2Pl.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl anybody's.N.Sg boat
'Give me anybody's boat!'

5.4.3. The usage of the indefinite pronominals derived from the 'wh' word *kakov* 'what-kind', *kolkav* 'what-size', and *čij* 'whose' as quailtative, quantitative and possessive pronouns is illustrated in (55), (56), and (57), respectively:[47]

(55) a. Q: *Daj* *mi* *nekakov* *moliv!*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl of-some-kind.M.Sg pencil
'Give me some (kind of) a pencil!'

A: *Nemam* *nikakov* *(moliv).*
not-have.1Sg of-no-kind.M.Sg pencil
1. 'I do not have any (kind (of a pencil).'
2. 'I have none/(no kind of a pencil).'

b. Q: *Kakvi* *molivi* *imate?*
what-kind.Pl pencils have.2Pl
'What kind of pencils do you have?'

A: *Sekakvi.*
any-kind.Pl
'All kinds.'

c. Q: *Kakvi* *molivi* *sakate?*
what-kind.Pl pencils want.2Pl
'What kind of pencils do you want?'

A_1: *Nekakvi.*
some-kind.Pl
'Of some kind.'

A_2: *Kakvi-(%da)-bilo.*
whatever-kind.Pl
'Of whatever kind.'

[47] The quantitative modifiers are sparingly used and nominal phrases with them are often questionable. The postmodifier *-gode* has a qualitative connotation and cannot modify quantitative and possessive modifiers.

(55) d. Q: *Kakvi* *molivi* *ti* *dade?*
what-kind.Pl pencils 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor

'What kind of pencils did he give you?'

A: *Kakvi-gode.*
whatever-kind.Pl

'Bad ones.' (lit. 'Of whatsoever quality.')

(56) a. Q: *Kolkavo* *jagne* *sakate?*
what-size.N.Sg lamb want.2Pl

'How big a lamb do you want?'

A_1: *??Nekolkavo.*
some-size.N.Sg

'Of-some-size.' (i.e., 'Give me any you like!')

A_2: *?Nikolkavo.*
no-size.N.Sg

'Of-no-size.' (i.e., 'I do not want any lamb.')

A_3: *Kolkavo-(%da)-bilo/-(i)-da-e.*
any/whatever-size.N.Sg

'Of-any/whatever-size.'

b. Q: *Kolkavi* *jagninja* *imate?*
what-size.Pl lambs have.2Pl

'How big lambs do you have?'
(lit. 'Lambs of what size do you have?')

A: *??Sekolkavi.*
all-sizes.Pl

'Of-all-sizes.'

(57) Q: *Čie* *jagne* *barate?*
whose.N.Sg lamb look-for.2Pl

'Whose lamb are you looking for?'

A_1: *?Nečie.*
somebody's.N.Sg

'Sombody's.'

(57) A_2: *Ničie.*
nobody's.N.Sg
'Nobody's.'

A_3: *Sečie.*
everybody's.N.Sg
'Everybody's.'

A_4: *Čie-(%da)-bilo.*
anybody's.N.Sg
'Anybody's.'

5.5. Indefinite Pronominals Derived from Adverbs

Most indefinite pronominals have corresponding locative, temporal, modal, and quantitative indefinite adverbs, which are derived from locative, temporal, modal, and quantitative 'wh' words.

5.5.1. The forms of the indefinite adverbs are given in Table 10:[48]

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[48] Note that the temporal indefinite adverbs that are prefixed by *(po)+ne-, ni-,* or *se-* are suffixed by the consonant *š*—a devoiced version of the particle *-že.*

The postmodifier *-gode* appears only in locative and modal adverbs. The structure *(i)-da-e* is rarely part of the lexical reading of an indefinite adverb. An interrogative adverb followed by this structure may have the reading of an indefinite adverb, but the constituents of *(i)-da-e* most often have distinct readings. For example:

(i) *Kade (i) da e, ḱe dojde.*
where and Subjun.Mark be.3Sg will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'Wherever he might be, he will come.'

(ii) *Koga *(i) da e trgnat treba*
when and Subjun.Mark be.3Sg started.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part should.3Sg
da stigne.
Subjun.Mark arrive.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'Whenever he might have left, he should arrive (by now).'

(iii) *Kako *(i) da e zacvrsten, ḱe*
how and Subjun.Mark be.3Sg fixed.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part will.Mod.Cl
se skrši.
Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'No matter how it is fixed, it will break.'

Table 10. Forms of Indefinite Adverbs

Locative	*nekade*	*nikade*	*sekade*	*kade-gode/-(%da)-bilo*
Temporal	*(po)nekogaš*	*nikogaš*	*sekogaš*	*koga-(%da)-bilo/(i)-da-e*
Modal	*nekako*	*nikako*	*sekako*	*kako-gode/-(%da)-bilo*
Quantitative	*nekolku*	*nikolku*	—	*kolku-(%da)-bilo*

5.5.2. The use of the locative, temporal, and modal indefinite adverbs is illustrated in (58), (59), and (60), respectively:

(58) a. *Toj e nekade.*
he be.3Sg somewhere
'He is somewhere.'

b. *Jas barav sekade, no ne možev*
I look-for.1Sg.Aor everywhere but not can.1Sg.Imperf
da go najdam nikade.
Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl find.1Sg.Pf.Pres nowhere
'I was looking everywhere, but couldn't find him anywhere.'

c. *Ne dojdovme do nikade.*
not arrive/come.1Pl.Aor to nowhere
'We accomplished nothing.' (lit. 'We came to nowhere.')

d_1 *Go ostava avtomobilot kade-gode.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl leave.2Sg.Imperf car+the.M.Sg wherever
'He leaves the car at odd places.' (lit. 'He leaves the care wherever.')

d_2 *Ostavi go avtomobilot kade-bilo!*
leave.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl car+the.M.Sg wherever
'Leave the car wherever you want/can!'

(59) a. *Ḱe te posetam nekogaš.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl visit.1Sg.Pf.Pres sometime
'I will visit you sometime.'

b. *Ponekogaš ne možam da zaspijam.*
sometime.Distr not can.1Sg Subjun.Mark fall-asleep.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'Sometimes I cannot fall asleep.'

(59) c. *Sekogaš docni.*
always come-late.3Sg
'(S)he always comes late.'

d. *Dojdi koga-(%)da-bilo/koga-(i)-da-e!*
come.2Sg.Imper any-time/whenever
'Come at any time!'

(60) a. *Ḱe uspeam nekako.*
will.Mod.Cl succeed.1Sg.Pf.Pres somehow
'I will succeed somehow.'

b. *Nikako ne možam da go vidam.*
no-way not can.1Sg Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'I cannot see him (no matter how much I try).'

c_1 *Se obiduvav sekako, no ne uspeav.*
Acc.Refl.Cl try.1Sg.Aor everyway but not succeed.1Sg.Aor
'I tried in every way, but did not succeed.'

c_2 *Da dojdeš sekako!*
Subjun.Mark come.2Sg.Pf.Pres by-all-means
'You should come by all means.'

d_1 *Zakrpi go kako-(%da)-bilo!*
patch-up.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl anyhow
'Patch it up anyhow!'

d_2 *Go zaši kako-gode.*
3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl sew-up.3Sg.Aor anyhow
'(S)he sewed it up in a hodge-podge way.'

5.5.3. The quantifying indefinite adverbs can be used as pronominal adverbs or as prenominal quantifiers, in both cases referring to enumerable referents exclusively.[49] The use of the quantifying adverbs *nekolku* 'several', *nikolku* 'no/none', and *kolku-(%da)-bilo* 'any number/no mater how many' as pronominal quantifiers or adverbs is illustrated in (61):

[49] Unlike the 'wh' word *kolku* 'how-many/how-much', from which they are derived.

(61) a. *Dajte* *mi* *nekolku* *(banani)!*
give.2Pl.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl several bananas
'Give me several (bananas)!'

b. *Ne* *sakam* *nikolku* *(banani).*
not want.1Sg none bananas
'I do not want any number (of bananas)!'

c. *Donesete* *kolku-(%da)-bilo* *(banani).*
bring.2Pl.Imper any-number bananas
'Bring any number (of bananas)!'

6. Deictics

In Macedonian, there is a series of deictics whose members function as pronouns, determiners, or modifiers, to which we can refer as adjectival deictics, and another series of deictics, whose members function as adverbs. With the exception of the temporal adverbial deictics, the Macedonian deictics show triple spatial distinction.

6.1. Adjectival Deictics

The members of the adjectival deictics enter into two ternary oppositions: (a) basic, quantitative or qualitative and (b) proximate to 1st person, proximate to 2nd person, and distal. Since they inflect for number and, when singular, also for gender, there are 36 forms of these deictics.

Table 11. Forms of Adjectival Deictics

		Proximate to 1st	Proximate to 2nd	Distal
Basic				
	M.Sg	*ovoj*	*toj*	*onoj*
	F.Sg	*ovaa*	*taa*	*onaa*
	N.Sg	*ova*	*toa*	*ona*
	Pl	*ovie*	*tie*	*onie*
Qualitative				
	M.Sg	*vakov*	*takov*	*onakov*
	F.Sg	*vakva*	*takva*	*onakva*
	N.Sg	*vakvo*	*takvo*	*onakvo*
	Pl	*vakvi*	*takvi*	*onakvi*

Quantitative

M.Sg	*olkav*	*tolkav*	*onolkav*
F.Sg	*olkava*	*tolkava*	*onolkava*
N.Sg	*olkavo*	*tolkavo*	*onolkavo*
Pl	*olkavi*	*tolkavi*	*onolkavi*

6.1.1. The qualitative and the quantitative deictics function as modifiers.[50]

6.1.2. The basic deictics are in essence demonstrative determiners, but also operate as pronouns:

(62) a. *Ovoj* *(čovek/ zajak/ moliv)* *ne* *mi* *se*
this.M.Sg man rabbit pencil not 1Sg.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl
bendisuva.
please.3Sg
'I do not like this one (this man/rabit/pencil).'

b. *Ḱe* *gi* *zemam* *tie/* *onie* *(lopati).*
will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl take.1Sg those yonder.Pl shovels
'I will take those (shovels)/the ones over there/(the shovels over there).'

6.1.2.1. The proximate to 2nd person and the distal basic deictics can be used for kataphoric reference:[51]

(63) a. *Ḱe* *go* *zemam* *toj* *(kauč)* *što*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.1Sg that couch that
mi *go* *pokažavte* *včera.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl show.2Pl.Aor yesterday
'I will take the one/(the couch) that you showed me yesterday.'

b. *Go* *vidovme* *onoj* *(čovek)* *što* *te* *udri.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Pl.Aor that man that 2Sg.Acc.Cl hit.3Sg
'We saw the one/(the man) that hit you.'

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[50] They are discussed in section 4 of chapter 5, entitled "The Structure of the Nominal Phrase".

[51] The choice of the deictic does not depend on the type of noun but it may depend on the attitude of the speaker. It is actually possible for *toj* to be used when the speaker knows that the antecedent of a relative clause is proximate to 2nd person, and *onoj* to be used when the antecedent is not proximate to the 1st person, not proximate to the 2nd person and not distal, i.e., when the deictic is unmarked.

6.2. Adverbial Deictics

The adverbial deictics are listed in Table 12.[52]

Table 12. Adverbial Deictics

	Proximate to 1st		Proximate to 2nd		Distal	
	Locat.	Direct.	Locat.	Direct.	Locat.	Direct.
Locative	*ovde*	*vamu*	*tuka*	*tamu*	*onde*	*onamu*
Temporal	*sega*		*togaš*		—	
Modal	*vaka*		*taka*		*onaka*	
Quantitative	*olku*		*tolku*		*onolku*	

6.2.1. The difference in the use of the locational and the directional deictics is subtle.

6.2.1.1. The locational deictics and their directional counterparts can be used with the same verb, depending on whether the speaker has in mind the process or the result of the action:

(64) a_1 *Dojdi* *ovde!*
come.2Sg.Imper here.Loc
'Come here (i.e., come to this place)!'

a_2 *Dojdi* *vamu!*
come.2Sg.Imper here.Dir
'Come here (i.e., come in this direction)!'

b_1 *Premesti* *go* *tuka!*
move.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl there.Loc
'Move it there (i.e., place it at exactly that place)!'

b_2 *Premesti* *go* *tamu!*
move.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl there.Dir
'Move it there (i.e., in the direction of where you are)!'

c_1 *Odi* *onde!*
go.2Sg.Imper over-there.Loc
'Go over there (and stay exactly in that place)!'

[52] Like the temporal indefinite adverbs that are prefixed by *(po)+ne-*, *ni-* or *se-*, the proximate to 2nd person temporal adverbial deictics are suffixed by the consonant *š*.

(64) c_2 *Odi* *onamu!*
go.2Sg.Imper over-there.Dir
'Go over there (i.e., in the direction over there)!'

6.2.1.2. *Tamu* 'there' and *onamu* 'over there' can also refer to a location. The location to which *tamu* may refer is close to the addressee, but not within his reach, in contrast with the location to which *tuka* may refers, which is at the exact place where the addressee is. The location to which *onde* 'over-there' may refer is precisely specified, unlike the location to which *onamu* 'over-there' refers, which is vague. Compare ($65a_1$) to ($65a_2$) and ($65b_1$) to ($65b_2$):

(65) a_1 *Stavi* *go* *tuka!*
put.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl there.Loc
'Put it there (i.e., exactly where you are)!'

a_2 *Stavi* *go* *tamu* *(negde)!*
put.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl there.Dir somewhere
'Put it (somewhere) there (i.e., around where you are)!'

b_1 *Odnesi* *go* *onde!*
take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl over-there.Loc
'Take it over there (i.e., exactly to the place over there)!'

b_2 *Odnesi* *go* *onamu* *(negde)!*
take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl over-there.Dir somewhere
'Take it (somewhere) over there!'

6.2.1.3. In the western dialects, *tuka* 'there' can have the reading 'at home':

(66) *%Tuka* *si* *utre?*
there be.2Sg tomorrow
'Are you at home tomorrow?'

6.2.1.4. In the southeastern and northern dialects, the distinction location: direction is losing ground and the triple spatial distinction is being gradually reduced to the binary distinction proximate: distal, *tuka* being increasingly used as the only proximate locative adverb, with the reading 'here', *tamu* as the only distal locative adverb with the reading 'there'.

6.2.2. In the sphere of temporal deicticts, there is no distinct distal deictic and the proximate to 2nd person temporal deictic; *togaš* 'then' refers to both past and future events.[53]

(67) a. *Togaš mi reče deka ne možeš da*
then 1Sg.Dat.Cl say.2Sg.Aor that not can.2Sg Sub.Mark

dojdeš, a sega?
come.2Sg and now

'Then you told me that you couldn't come, what about now?'

b. *Ḱe se vidime utre i togaš*
will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl see.1Pl.Pf.Pres tomorrow and then

ḱe se dogovorime.
will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl agree.1Pl

'We shall see each other tomorrow and shall reach an agreement then.'

6.2.3. With the modal deictics, the triple distinction is still thriving. *Vaka* has the reading 'in this way', *taka*—'in that way', while *onaka*—'in yonder way':[54]

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[53] In the older stages of the language there was a distal temporal adverb. Such an adverb exists in contemporary Serbian, where we have the following forms:

(i) *sada* (ii) *tada* (iii) *onda* Serbian
'now' 'then' 'in yonder time'

Note that the Macedonian distal deictic *togaš* is also used as a concessive adverb:

(ii) *Togaš, da odime.*
then Subjun.Mark go.1Pl

'Let us go then!'

[54] The adverb *onaka* 'in yonder way' is less frequently used.

The adverb *taka*, is in colloquial speech used as an adjectival modifier, in which case it has the reading 'so (much)'. Examples:

(i) *%Taa e taka ubava!*
she be.3Sg so beautiful.F.Sg

'She is so beautiful!'

(ii) *%Taka sum umoren!*
so be.1Sg tired.M.Sg

'I am so tired!'

(68) *Možeš* *da* *go* *napraviš* *vaka,*
can.2Sg Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.2Sg.Pf.Pres in-this-way

taka *ili* *onaka.*
in-that-way or in-yonder-way

'You can do it like this, like that or in a third way.'

6.2.4. The quantitative adverbial deictics can be used as pronominal quantifiers or as quantifying pronominal adverbs. With any usage, they can refer to either enumerable or mass referents and can show triple spatial distinction, *olku* being interpreted as 'this many/much', *tolku* as 'that many/much.Prox2', *onolku* as 'that many/much.Dist'. The use of the quantitative adverbial deictics as prenominal quantifiers or quantifying pronominal adverbs is illustrated in (69):

(69) a. *Možeš* *da* *kupiš* *samo* *olku/*
can.2Sg Subjun.Mark buy.2Sg.Pf.Pres only this-many

tolku/ *onolku* *(banani).*
that-many.Prox2 that-many.Dist bananas

'You can buy only this many/that many (bananas).'

b. *Možeš* *da* *dobieš* *samo* *olku/*
can.2Sg Subjun.Mark get.2Sg.Pf.Pres only this-much

tolku / *onolku* *(kafe).*
that-much.Prox2 that-much.Dist coffee

'You can get only this/that much (coffee).'

6.2.4.1. The quantifier *tolku* (alone or along with the quantifier *mnogu* 'much') is also used as an adjectival modifier with the reading 'so':

(70) a. *Ovaa* *kniga* *e* *tolku* *zanimliva!*
this.F book be.3Sg so interesting.F.Sg

'This book is so interesting!'

b. *Tolku* *(mnogu)* *ja* *saka!*
so much 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl like.3Sg

'(S)he loves her so much!'

Part Three

The Clause

Chapter 9

The Structure of the Clause

1. Ordering of the Clausal Constituents

In the prototypical (transitive declarative) Macedonian clauses, the ordering of the clausal constituents follows the pattern of the majority of European languages. As shown in (1), in transitive declarative clauses, the verb is preceded by a subject and followed by an object.

(1) *Petre* *kupi* *kniga.*
Petre buy.3Sg.Aor book
'Petre bought a book.'

Thus, prototypically, Macedonian is a subject (S)—verb (V)—object (O) language. There are, however, many deviations from this S–V–O word order.

1.1. Marked Transitive Declarative Clauses

In marked transitive declarative clauses, the object of the transitive declarative clause may occur clause-initially, while the subject either follows the verb or shows up between the object and the verb:

(2) a_1 *Kniga* *kupi* *PETRE.*
book buy.3Sg.Aor Petre

a_2 *Kniga* *PETRE* *kupi.*
book Petre buy.3Sg.Aor
'It was Petre who bought a book (not Ana).'

The dissimilarity between the ordering of the constituents in (1) and (2) ensues from discourse differences.

1.1.1. Following the Prague School tradition,[1] I take every clause to be articulated into two parts: theme or topic and rheme or comment. In the neutral, unmarked tran-

[1] For references in English *cf.* Firbas 1992, Sgall, Hajičová, and Benešová 1973, Sgall, Hajičová, and Panevová 1986.

sitive declarative clauses, the topic and the comment relate to the linearization of the clause; the topic occurring clause-initially and matching up with the subject, the comment occurring to the right of the topic and matching up with the predicate. The right-most constituent of the comment of S–V–O clauses instantiates the information focus, which relates to an assertion that is not associated with a set of elements and differs from a contrastive focus, which selects an element of a set of elements implicitly or explicitly given in the previous discourse and occurs in various places in the clause.[2]

1.1.2. In generative grammar, there are topic and (contrastive) focus nodes in the Left Periphery of the clause, to the left of the specifier (Spec) node, where the subject checks its agreement features. In Macedonian, the checking of the agreement features of the subject may be covert or overt, depending on whether the topic node in the Left Periphery of the clause is or is not filled.

1.1.2.1. In unmarked declarative transitive clauses, the subject moves from an underlying structure to the specifier (Spec) node to the left of a Tense, where the verb ends up, and we have an S–V–O word order, as in (1). In marked declarative transitive clauses, the object may show up in the Focus or the Topic phrase in the Left Periphery of the clause. If the object shows up in the Focus Phrase in the Left Periphery, the subject can (a) move to Spec and check its agreement features with the verb overtly, as in ($3a_1$), or (b) remain *in situ*, i.e., in the position in which it was in the underlying *v*P,[3] and check its agreement features covertly, as in ($3a_2$).

(3) a_1 *KNIGA* *Petre* *kupi.*
book Petre buy.3Sg.Aor

a_2 *KNIGA* *kupi* *Petre.*
book buy.3Sg.Aor Petre

'It was a book that Petre bought (not a pencil).'

If the object shows up in the Topic Phrase in the Left Periphery, to the left of the Focus Phrase, the subject may instantiate a contrastive focus and appear either to the right of the verb, as in ($2a_1$), or in the Focus Phrase between the object and the verb, as in ($2a_2$).

1.1.3. Adverbials can show up in various focus positions. In transitive clauses in which the object appears post-verbally, an adverbial can appear (a) in the right edge of the clause, as in (4a), and instantiate an information focus, or (b) to the immediate

[2] *Cf.* Sgall, Hajičová, and Benešová 1973, Kenesei 1997, Kiss 1998, Arnaudova 2003a, b.

[3] The structure of the *v*P is represented in section 2.2 below.

left of the verb or in the Focus Phrase in the Left Periphery, as in ($4b_1$–b_2), and represent a contrastive focus.

(4) a. *Petre kupi kniga včera.*
Petre buy.3Sg.Aor book yesterday
'Peter bought a book yesterday.'

b_1 *VČERA Petre kupi kniga.*
yesterday Petre buy.3Sg.Aor book

b_2 *Petre VČERA kupi kniga.*
Petre yesterday buy.3Sg.Aor book
'It was yesterday that Petre bought a book.'

In a clause in which the object appears in the Topic Phrase in the Left Periphery, the adverbial can show up in the right edge of the clause, as in ($5a_1$), or to the immediate left of the verb, as in ($5a_2$); in both cases instantiating a contrastive focus.

(5) a_1 *Kniga kupi Petre VČERA.*
book buy.3Sg.Aor Petre yesterday

a_2 *Kniga VČERA kupi Petre.*
book yesterday buy.3Sg.Aor Petre
'As for the book, it was yesterday that Petre bought it.'

An examination of the clauses in (4) and (5) shows that the position of the adverbial does not influence the relationship between the subject and the object to the verb. The clauses in (4) are S–V–O clauses, while the clauses in (5) are O–V–S clauses, regardless of the place of the adverbial in them.

1.2. Intransitive Clauses

In many intransitive clauses, the subject can occur either to the right or to the left of the verb:

(6) a_1 *Lambata ne sveti.*
lamp+the.F.Sg not light.3Sg

a_2 *Ne sveti lambata.*
not light.3Sg lamp+the.F.Sg
'The lamp does not work.' (lit. 'The lamp does not light.')

(6) b_1 *Kolata* *zabrči.*
car+the.F.Sg make-noise.3Sg.Aor

b_2 *Zabrči* *kolata.*
make-noise.3Sg.Aor car+the.F.Sg

'The car started making a noise.'

The variable ordering of the subject and the verb in these clauses can be related to discourse factors; the predicate of the intransitive clause is actually focused and can occur either in clause-final position or in a Focus Phrase in the Left Periphery. In the latter case, the subject remains *in situ* an checks its agreement features covertly.

1.2.1. An aspectual change—the change of an imperfective verb into perfective—can result in the transformation of an intransitive verb into transitive. Compare (7a) to (7b):

(7) a. *Živeeše* *vo* *Skopje.*
live.3Sg.Imperf in Skopje

'He lived in Skopje.'

b. *Ja* *preživea* *vojnata.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl survive.3Sg.Aor war+the.F.Sg

'(S)he survived the war.'

1.2.2. Many verbs which are basically intransitive can act as causative transitive verbs. Compare ($8a_1$) to ($8a_2$), ($8b_1$) to ($8b_2$), ($8c_1$) to ($8c_2$), ($8d_1$) to ($8d_2$), and ($8e_1$) to ($8e_2$):

(8) a_1 *Ivan* *umre.*
Ivan die.3Sg.Aor

'Ivan died.'

a_2 *Go* *umrea* *Ivana.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl die.3Pl.Aor Ivan.Acc

'They caused the death of Ivan.' (lit. 'They died Ivan.')

b_1 *Deteto* *zaspa.*
child+the.N.Sg fall-asleep.3Sg.Aor

'The child fell asleep.'

(8) b_2 *Brat* *mi* *go* *zaspa*
brother 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Clit fall-asleep.3Sg.Aor
deteto.
child+the.N.Sg
'My brother made the child fall asleep.'

c_1 *Ќerka* *mu* *porasna.*
daughter 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl grow-up.3Sg.Aor
'His daughter grew up.'

c_2 *Ja* *porasna* *ќerka* *si.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl grow-up.3Sg.Aor daughter Dat.Refl.Cl
'He took care that his daughter grows up.' (lit. 'He grew up his daughter.')

d_1 *Preminale* *preku* *rekata.*
passed.Pl.*l*-Part across river+the.F.Sg
'They crossed the river.'

d_2 *Go* *preminale* *preku* *rekata.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl passed.Pl.*l*-Part across river+the.F.Sg
'They helped him cross the river.' (lit. 'They passed him across the river.')

e_1 *Se* *smee.*
Acc.Refl.Cl laugh .3Sg
'(S)he is laughing.'

e_2 *Go* *smee* *deteto.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl laugh.3Sg child+the.N.Sg
'(S)he causes the child to laugh.'

1.3. Impersonal Clauses

In the Macedonian impersonal clauses, the verb is typically represented by third person singular forms or neuter singular *l*-participles.[4]

[4] The impersonal clauses are discussed in section 2.3.2 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals". Note that *l*-participles are typically used as exponents of evidentiality (*cf.* section 10 in chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses").

1.3.1. Impersonal clauses with meteorological verbs never have objects. The meteorological verb is often the only constituent of the clause (*cf.* 9a), though in some cases it can be preceded by the accusative reflexive pronominal clitic *se* (*cf.* 9b):

(9) a_1 *Grmi.*
thunder.3Sg
'It is thundering.'

a_2 *Seka.*
have-lightning.3Sg
'There is lightning.'

a_3 *Sneželo.*
snow.N.Sg.*l*-Part
'It is snowing, I understand.'

b_1 *Se* *stemnuva.*
Acc.Refl.Cl get-dark.3Sg
'It is getting dark.'

b_2 *Se* *razdenuvalo.*
Acc.Refl.Cl day-break.N.Sg.*l*-Part
'The day is breaking, I understand.'

1.3.2. There are impersonal clauses with nominal predicates in which the noun, the adjective or the participle occur to the left of the third person clitic 'be' auxiliary *e* or to the left or right of the third person non-clitic 'be' auxiliary *beše* or the neuter singular *l*-participle *bilo*: [5]

(10) a_1 *Grevota* *e.*
pity.F.Sg be.3Sg
'It is a pity.'

a_2 **E* *grevota.*
be.3Sg pity.F.Sg

b_1 *Vistina* *e.*
truth.F.Sg be.3Sg
'It is true.'

[5] Note that the gender of the nouns *grevota* 'pity' and *vistina* 'truth' are feminine, while the gender of the participle *bilo* 'been' is neuter.

(10) b_2 **E* *vistina*.
be.3Sg truth.F.Sg

c_1 *Dogovoreno* *e*.
agreed.N.Sg.Pass.Part be.3Sg
'It is agreed.'

c_2 **E* *dogovoreno*.
be.3Sg agreed.N.Sg.Pass.Part

(11) a_1 *Grevota* *beše*.
pity.F.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf

a_2 *Beše* *grevota*.
be.3Sg.Imperf pity.F.Sg
'It was a pity.'

b_1 *Vistina* *beše*.
truth.F.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf

b_2 *Beše* *vistina*.
be.3Sg.Imperf truth.F.Sg
'It was true.'

c_1 *Dogovoreno* *beše*.
agreed.N.Sg.Pass.Part be.3Sg.Imperf

c_2 *Beše* *dogovoreno*.
be.3Sg.Imperf agreed.N.Sg.Pass.Part
'It was agreed.'

(12) a_1 *Dogovoreno* *bilo*.
agreed.N.Sg.Pass.Part been.N.Sg.*l*-Part

a_2 *Bilo* *dogovoreno*.
been.N.Sg.*l*-Part agreed.N.Sg.Pass.Part
'It was agreed, reportedly.'

b_1 *Grevota* *bilo*.
pity.F.Sg been.N.Sg.*l*-Part

b_2 *Bilo* *grevota*.
been.N.Sg.*l*-Part pity.F.Sg
'It was a pity, reportedly.'

(12) c_1 *Vistina* *bilo.*
truth.F.Sg been.N.Sg.*l*-Part

c_2 *Bilo* *vistina.*
been.N.Sg.*l*-Part truth.F.Sg

'It was true, reportedly.'

The obligatory occurrence of the nominal predicate to the left of the clitic third person 'be' auxiliary is due to the fact that in clauses with nominal predicates this auxiliary is enclitic and requires a host to its left.[6]

1.3.3. Clauses with direct or indirect objects represented by Dat or Acc clitic pronouns to the immediate left of the verb, optionally followed by non-clitic personal pronouns, are, as a rule, impersonal:[7]

(13) a_1 *Me* *trese* *(mene).*
1SgAcc.Cl shake.3Sg me

'I am shaking.' (lit. 'It shakes me.')

a_2 *Me* *mrzi* *(mene).*
1SgAcc.Cl be-lazy.3Sg me

'I am lazy.' (lit. 'It makes me lazy.')

b. *Mi* *teknuva* *(mene).*
1Sg.Dat.Cl come-to-mind.3Sg me

'It comes to mind to me.'

1.3.4. In some impersonal clauses, the use of locative adverbs or adverbial phrases is almost mandatory.

1.3.4.1. Verbs which usually occur in clauses with subjects, can occur in impersonal clauses in which a locative adverb or adverbial clause precedes or follows them. Compare (6a) and (6b) to (14a) and (14b), respectively:

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[6] *Cf.* section 6.2 of chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology". Note that no third person clitic auxiliaries occur when V is instantiated by an *l*-participle (*cf.* 2.1.4. below).

[7] The occurrence of the clitic pronouns to the left of the verb follows from the fact that these clitics are typically preverbal. The use of the non-clitic pronouns is, generally speaking, emphatic (*cf.* section 2.2 in chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals").

(14) a_1 *Ovde/ vo ovaa soba NE sveti.*
here in this.F.Sg room not light.3Sg

a_2 *NE sveti ovde/ vo ovaa soba.*
not light.3Sg here in this.F.Sg room

'There is no light here/in this room.' (lit. It does not lighten in this room.')

b_1 *Od dalečnata ZABRČI.*
from distance+the.F.Sg make-noise.3Sg.Aor

b_2 *ZABRČI od dalečnata.*
make-noise.3Sg.Aor from distance+the.F.Sg

'There was a noise from afar.' (lit. 'From afar it started making noise.')

1.3.4.2. Existential impersonal clauses with third person singular forms of the verb *ima* 'have' usually require clause-initial adverbials. It is only in existential clauses in which the verb is strongly focused that the adverbials are not clause-initial (and in some cases do not have to occur at all).[8]

(15) a_1 *Ovde/ vo ovoj grad ima dobri luġe.*
here in this.M.Sg city have.3Sg good.Pl people

'There are many good people here/in this city.'

a_2 *IMA dobri luġe ovde/ vo ovoj grad.*
have.3Sg good.Pl people here in this.M.Sg city

a_3 *Dobri luġe IMA ovde/ vo ovoj grad.*
good.Pl people have.3Sg here in this.M.Sg city

'There ARE good people (here/in this city).'

b_1 *Tamu/ vo Švajcarija nema siromasi.*
there in Switzerland not+have.3Sg poor people

'There are no poor people in Switzerland.'

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[8] Existential impersonal clauses in which the verb is instantiated by neuter singular *l*-participles, however, can and usually do appear without adverbials.

(i) *NEMALO pravda.*
not+have.N.Sg.*l*-Part justice

(ii) *Pravda NEMALO.*
justice not+have.N.Sg.*l*-Part

'Justice DOESN'T seem to exist.'

In clauses such as these the participle is actually always focused.

(15) b_2 *NEMA* *siromasi* *tamu/ vo* *Švajcarija.*
not+have.3Sg poor people there/ in Switzerland

b_3 *Siromasi* *(tamu/ vo* *Švajcarija)* *NEMA* *(tamu/ vo*
poor people there/ in Switzerland not+have.3Sg there/ in
Švajcarija).
Switzerland

'There are NO poor people in Switzerland.'

1.3.4.3. The verbs in non-existential transitive impersonal clauses can have third person singular forms, which are always accompanied by the reflexive clitic *se*, or third person plural forms which may, but needn't be accompanied by this clitic. The adverbials in clauses such as these occur to the left of the verb, unless the object is raised to the Focus Phrase, in which case the adverbial appears to the right of the verb.[9] Examples:

(16) a_1 *Tamu* *se* *zboruva* *angliski.*
there Acc.Refl.Cl speak.3Sg English

'English is spoken there.'

a_2 *ANGLISKI* *se* *zboruva* *tamu.*
English Acc.Refl.Cl speak.3Sg there

'It is English that is spoken there.'

b_1 *Tamu* *zboruvaat* *angliski.*
there speak.3Pl English

'People speak English there.'

b_2 *ANGLISKI* *zboruvaat* *tamu.*
English speak.3Pl there

'It is English that people speak there.'

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[9] Note that in impersonal transitive clauses in which the reflexive clitic occurs to the left of *l*-participles there are usually no adverbials. As shown in (i), the *l*-participles can appear not only in the neuter singular form, typical for impersonal clauses, but also in a form whose gender and number features correspond to the features of the noun to their right:

(i) *(*Ovde)* *se* *dalo/* *dala* *zapoved* *(*ovde).*
here Acc.Refl.Cl given.N.Sg.*l*-Part given.F.Sg.*l*-Part order here

'An order has been given.'

(16) c_1 *Ovde/ vo ovaa kuќa ne se peat pesni.*[10]
here in this.F.Sg house not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl songs
'In this house one doesn't sing songs.'

c_2 *Ne SE peat pesni ovde/ vo ovaa kuќa.*
not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl songs here in this.F.Sg house
'No songs are being sung here/in this house.'

1.3.4.4. The preferance for the usage of adverbials to the left of impersonal verbs indicates that the missing subjects have to be compensated by the occurrence of some other constituents. The Macedonian locative adverbs to some extent behave as the English expletives.

2. Clausal Clitic Clusters

Macedonian has a system of clausal clitics which, with some exceptions, occur in clusters to the left of the verb.

2.1. The Clausal-Clitic System

The clausal-clitic system includes sets of pronominal and 'be' auxiliary clitics,[11] the expectative modal clitic *ќе*, the conditional modal clitic *bi* 'would',[12] the subjunctive mood marker *da*, the negation marker *ne*, the interrogative marker *li*, and possibly the interrogative 'wh' words *koj* 'who/which' (and its dative and accusative forms *komu* and *kogo*), *što* 'what', *kade/kaj* 'where', and *kako* 'how', when used as interrogative pronouns. The ordering of the clitics in the cluster is as follows: [13]

(17) (?Inter) Mood Neg_1 Mod Mood Neg_2 Aux Dat Acc *(s)e*

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[10] In this clause, we have a cognate verb. Note, however, that the behaviour of cognate verbs preceded by *se* is not different from the behaviour of other verbs preceded by *se*.

[11] The pronominal clitics are discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals". The 'be' auxiliary clitics are discussed in section 5 of chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

[12] *Ќе* is used for the formation of the future and future-in-the-past (*cf.* section 6 of chapter 12, enitltled "Mood Structures"), while *bi* is used in *potentialis* conditional clauses (*cf.* section 7 of chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures"). For Friedman, *ќе* is an "expectative marker" (*cf.* Friedman 2003: 215) while *bi* is a "hypothetical marker" (*cf.* Friedman 2003: 230). I am, however, referring to *ќе* and *bi* as "expectative modal clitic" and "conditional modal clitic", respectively.

[13] It goes without saying that not all of the slots are always filled.

2.1.1. The marker of the interrogative slot, Inter, is preceded by a question mark because the 'wh' words which may occur in this slot can alternatively be stressed and non-clitic.[14] The clitic interrogative marker *li* does not occur in Inter, since it is always enclitic and is not included in the clitic cluster, which is, as a rule, proclitic, though in interrogative clauses introduced by focused nominals, such as (18), it appears adjacent to the other clausal clitics:

(18) *Po Marija* ← *li* *ќе* → *ti* → *go* →
by Maria Inter.Cl will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

prati *(pismoto)?*
send.3Sg.Aor letter+the.N.Sg

'Is it with Maria that (s)he will send it/(the letter) to you?'

2.1.2. The slot for the subjunctive mood marker *da*, Mood, is distinct from the slot Mod, in which the modal clitics *ќе* 'will' and *bi* 'would' occur,[15] because *da* and the modal clitics may occur in the same clitic cluster:[16]

(19) a. *Ne* *ќе* *da* *e* *dojden.*
not.Cl will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark.Cl be.3Sg come.M.Sg.Pass.Part

'I doubt that he has come.' (lit. 'He couldn't have come.')

b. *%Jas* *bi* *da* *dojdam.*
I would.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark.Cl come.1Sg.Pf.Pres

'I would (like to) come.'

2.1.3. The negation marker *ne* has two slots, Neg1 and Neg2, since it may occur in two different places. As shown in (20), *ne* occurs to the left of the modal auxiliary clitics, but to the right of the subjunctive mood marker *da,* and can even occur in both places in the same clause:

---

[14] The prosodic behavior of the 'wh' words is discussed in section 6.2.4 of chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology".

[15] The subjunctive marker is discussed throughout chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures".

[16] (19a) and (19b) are mono-clausal structures. (19b) is dialectal (*cf.* section 6.5.2 in chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures").

(20) a. *Ne ќe si im gi*
not.Cl will.Mod.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl

dadela knigite.
given.M.Sg.*l*-Part books+the.Pl

'Reportedly, you wouldn't give them the books.'

b. *Da ne im gi davaš*
Subjun.Mark.Cl not.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.2Sg

knigite.
books+the.Pl

'You shouldn't give them the books.'

c. *Ne ќe da ne gi*
not.Cl will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark.Cl not.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl

vide.
see.2/3Sg.Aor

'It couldn't be (true), that you/(s)he didn't see them (though you/(s)he claim(s) it).'

2.1.4. The third person auxiliary clitics *e* 'be.3Sg' and *se* 'be.3Pl' do not occur in the Aux slot to the left of the pronominal clitics, but rather in the slot *(s)e*, to the right of the pronominal clitics. The third person auxiliary clitics differ from the first and second person clitics in not occurring in clauses in which V is instantiated by *l*-participles.[17] Examples of the use of the auxiliary clitics in clauses with *l*-participles and nominal predicates are given in (21) and (22), respectively.

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[17] In the southeastern Macedonian dialects, 3rd person singular and plural clitics do appear to the left of *l*-participles. The following examples are from a dialect in the southeastern corner of Macedonia, bordering with Greece and Bulgaria:

(i) *%...ni gu e videl.*
not.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part

'...he did not see/has not seen him...'

(ii) *%...uoti sa sa zbrali tam.*
because be.3Pl.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl gathered.Pl.*l*-Part there

'...because they gathered there...'

In standard Macedonian, the third person auxiliary clitics occur only in clauses in which V is instantiated by passive participles and in nominal predicates (*cf.* 6.2 of chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology").

(21) a. *Ti si go zel.*
you be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl taken.M.Sg.*l*-Part
'You have (reportedly) taken it.'

b. *Nie sme go zele.*
we be.1Pl.Cl 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl taken.Pl.*l*-Part
'We have (reportedly) taken it.'

c. *Toj (*e) go (*e) zel.*
he be.3Sg.Cl 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl taken.M.Sg.*l*-Part
'He has (reportedly) taken it.'

d. *Tie (*se) go (*se) zele.*
they be.3Pl.Cl 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Cl taken.Pl.*l*-Part
'They have (reportedly) taken it.'

(22) a. *Ti si mu tatko.*
you be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl father
'You are his father. (lit. 'You are father to him.)'

b. *Nie sme mu roditeli.*
we be.1Pl.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl parents
'We are his parents.' (lit. 'We are parents to him.')

c. *Toj mu e tatko.*
he 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl father
'He is his father.' (lit. 'He is a father to him.')

d. *Tie mu se roditeli.*
they 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Cl parents
'They are his parents.' (lit. 'They are parents to him.')

2.1.5. The Dat reflexive clitic occurs in the Dat slot, along with the personal Dat clitics, while the Acc reflexive clitic occurs in the Acc slot, along with the personal Acc clitics.

(23) a. *Jana si/ ti go zede*
Jana Dat.Refl.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Aor
podarokot.
present+the.M.Sg
'Jana took her/your present.'

(23) b. *Mi* *se* *skrši* *golemata* *vazna.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor big+the.F.Sg vase
'My big vase got broken.'

c. *Mi* *ja* *skrši* *golemata* *vazna.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl break.2/3Sg.Aor big+the.F.Sg vase
'You/(s)he broke my big vase.'

2.1.5.1. If two pronominal clitics co-occur, the Dat clitic must precede the Acc one. Thus, whereas (24a) is a well-formed sentence, (24b) is not:

(24) a. *Petre mi go pretstavi.*
Petre 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
'Petre introduced him to me.'

b. **Petre go mi pretstavi.*
Petre 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor

2.1.5.2. There is a person restriction in the co-occurrence of the Dat and Acc clitics: a third person clitic preferably follows the first or second person one.[18] Thus, we have the following acceptability judgments:

(25) a. *Petre mi/ vi go/ gi pretstavi.*
Petre 1Sg 2Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M 3Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
'Petre introduced him/her/them to me/you.'

b. **Petre go/ gi mi/ vi pretstavi.*
Petre 3Sg.M 3Pl.Acc.Cl 1Sg 2Pl.Dat.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor

c. *?Petre mu/ ì me/ ve pretstavi.*
Petre 3Sg.M 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 1Sg 2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
'Petre introduced me/you to him/her.'

d. *?Petre im me/ ve pretstavi.*
Petre 3Pl.Dat.Cl 1Sg 2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
'Petre introduced me/you to them.'

[18] Person restrictions in di-transitive sentences have attracted much attention in the literature (*cf.* Haspelmath 2002, for a recent overview). Rivero (2005: section 3.2) argues that these restrictions should be captured in post-syntactic morphology once syntactic information is encoded in pronominal clitics.

2.1.5.3. Combinations of 1st and 2nd person clitics are not frequent and in some cases are questionable or non-acceptable.[19] Examples:

(26) a. *Petre mi/ ni te/ ve pretstavi.*
Petre 1Sg.Dat.Cl 1Pl.Dat.Cl 2Sg 2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
'Petre introduced you to me.'

b. *??Petre ti me/ ne pretstavi.*
Petre 2Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg 1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
'Petre introduced me/us to you.'

c. **Petre vi me/ ne pretstavi.*
Petre 2Pl.Dat.Cl 1Sg 1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
purported reading: 'Petre introduced me/us to you.'

2.2. Derivation of the Clausal Clitics

In generative grammar, all the clitics of the clausal clitic cluster, except for the 'wh' word clitics, whose clitic status is questionable, are derived in functional phrases to the left of the verb phrase. In Tomić (2004d), we have the following functional structure.

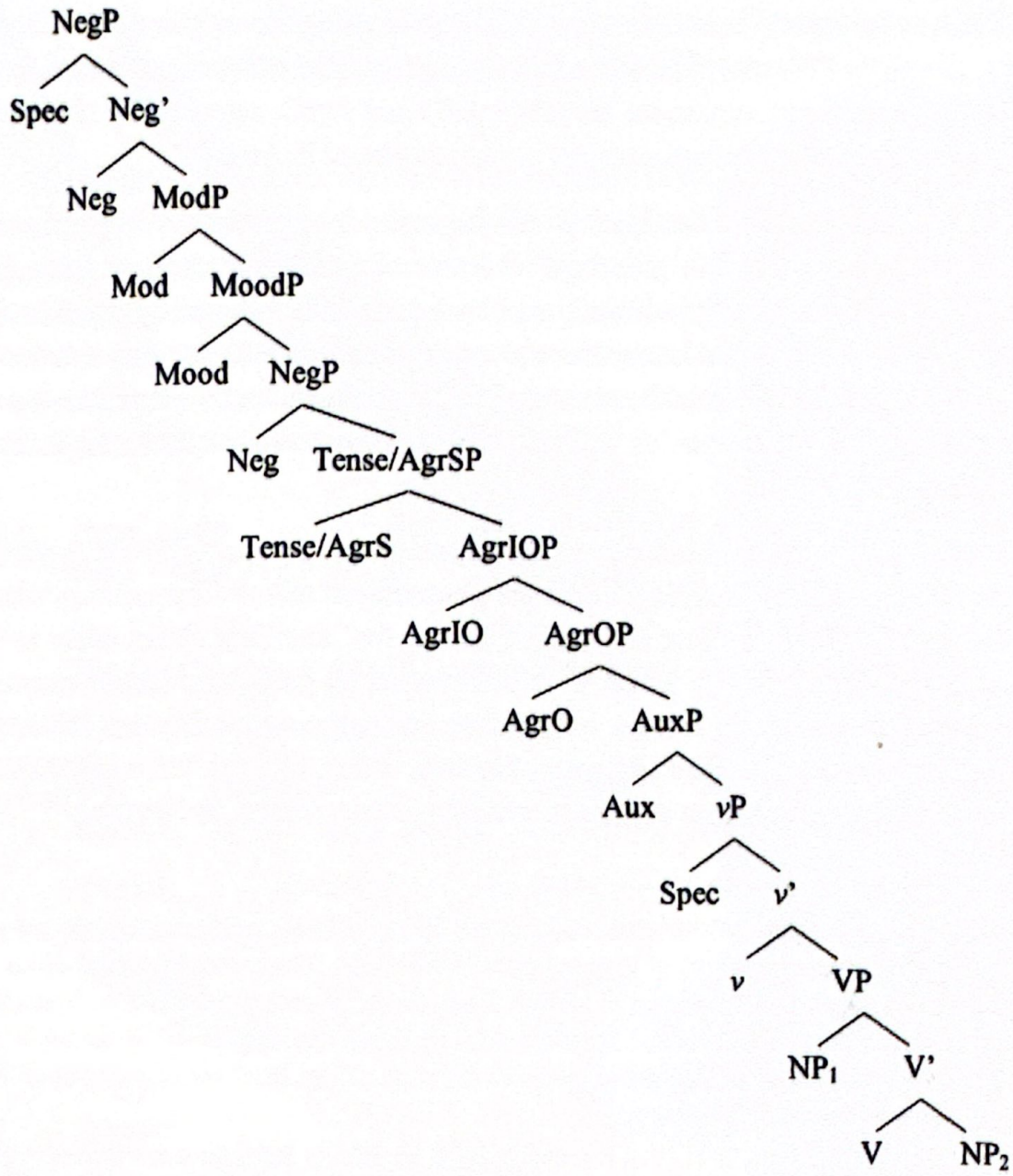
[19] The reasons for the infrequent occurrence or non-acceptability of the combination of 1st and 2nd person clitics are pragmatic: the speaker and the addressee do not often refer to each other. Yet, in Macedonian, first and second person clitics do co-occur and in this respect differ from the clitics of most other Balkan languages.

Since (full) pronouns in direct and indirect object positions are always clitic-doubled (*cf.* 2.2.1. in chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals"), there are no viable alternatives for the non-acceptable combination. Sentences such as (i) or (ii), where one object is represented by a full pronoun, are non-acceptable:

(i) **Ve pretstavi nam.*
2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor us.Dat

(ii) **ne pretstavi vam.*
1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor you.Pl.Dat

(27)



2.2.1. As we see, we have two NegPs. The head of the first NegP takes as a complement a modal phrase—ModP, the head of ModP takes as a complement the mood phrase—MoodP, the head of MoodP takes as a complement the second NegP, the head of the second NegP takes as a complement a tense and subject agreement phrase—Tense/AgrSP, the head of TenseAgrSP takes as a complement an indirect object agreement phrase—AgrIOP, the head of AgrIOP takes as a complement a direct object agreement phrase—AgrOP, the head of AgrOP takes as a compelement the auxiliary phrase—AuxP and the head of the auxiliary phrase takes as a complement the verb phrase.

2.2.2. The ordering of the nodes in this structure corresponds to the ordering of the members of the clitic cluster given in (17). The negation clitics are placed in one of the two Neg nodes, the modal clitics are placed in Mod, the subjunctive mood marker

is placed in Mood,[20] the first and second person (singular or plural) auxiliary clitics are placed in Tense/AgrS, the Dat and Acc pronominal clitics are placed in the direct and indirect object agreement phrases AgrIO and AgrO, respectively, while the singular or plural third person auxiliary clitics are placed in Aux.

2.2.3. The relation of auxiliaries with respect to other verbs has long been a matter of a debate in generative grammar.[21] I am treating the constructions with auxiliary verbs and participles as uniformly mono-clausal, with the participles of compound tenses projecting lexical heads, like the tensed verbs, and the auxiliaries to the left of them projecting functional heads. Aux heads can dominate the non-clitic 'have' and past tense 'be' auxiliaries, as well as the first person, singular and plural, clitic 'be' auxiliaries.[22]

2.2.4. The joint tense and subject agreement phrase (Tense/AgrSP) is argued for by the fact that the 'be' auxiliary clitics are portmanteau morphs representing tense, person and number. The first and second person 'be' auxiliary clitics occur in Tense/AgrS only in clauses in which V is instantiated by participles and in clauses with nominal predicates. In clauses with tensed verbs, the verb raises to Tense/AgrS to check its tense and subject agreement features, which, like the 'be' auxiliaries, are instantiated by portmanteau morphs representing tense, person, and number.[23]

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[20] In her analysis of Balkan clause structures, Rivero (1994) proposes that the subjunctive markers are derived or checked in the phrases in which the future marking modal clitics are derived or checked. But, as shown in section 2.1.2, the Macedonian subjunctive mood clitic can occur in the same mono-clausal structure with modal clitics. Moreover, as shown in section 2.1.3, the relationship of the modal clitics to negation differs from the relationship of the subjunctive mood marker to negation.

[21] *Cf.* Erb 2001, Julien 2001, Van Riemsdijk 2002, Breitbarth 2005 for some discussion.

[22] First and second person present tense clitic 'be' auxiliaries project Tense/AgrS. The differences between the first and second person 'be' auxiliary clitics and the third person ones are stated in section 2.1.4 above (*cf.* also Tomić 1996b). Verb phrases with auxiliaries are discussed in chapter 4 of this part, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

[23] The verb, V, is derived in the verb phrase, VP, and moves first to the head position of another verb phrase symbolized as *v*P, to which Chomsky (1995) refers as a shell, and then to Tense/AgrSP, via the heads of AgrOP and AgrIOP, where it picks up the pronominal clitics.

Since the pronominal clitics have to be placed to the left of the verb, the verb has to be right-adjoined to the heads of AgrOP and AgrIOP and "push" the clitics rather than "trail" them, which is in disagreement with Kayne's (1994) leftward adjunction system. To make the movement of the Macedonian clitics compatible with Kayne's system, Bošković (2001) proposes that they are derived not as heads but as specifiers of AgrIOP and AgrOP and "jump" and get left-adjoined to the verb to their left. However, Bošković's analysis leads to a discrepancy between the members of the clausal clitic cluster: the pronominal clitics, which are derived as specifiers, would cluster with auxiliary, subjunctive, and negation clitics, all of which are derived as heads.

2.2.5. The NP_2, representing the direct object, occurs as a complement of V, whereas NP_1 representing the indirect object, occurs in the Spec position to the left of V' dominating V.[24]

2.2.6. The subject of the verb, derived in the specifier (Spec) of the verb to the left of the head of *v*P, *v*, is moved to the Spec of the highest functional node, which actually is the only Spec above *v*P. This is argued for by the fact that the subject can never occur to the right of any clausal clitic and split the clausal clitic cluster from the verb. Thus, while in many Balkan languages the subject can occur to the right of the subjunctive mood marker, in Macedonian it has to occur to its left and may even be separated from the subject by other clitic constituents:[25]

(28) a. *Petre saka JAS da (*jas) sum*
Petre want.3Sg.Pres I Subjun.Mark I be.1Sg.Cl

mu ja dadela knigata.
3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg.*l*-Part book+the.F.Sg

'Petre wants ME to give him the book.'

b. *Ova pravo ja vklučuva slobodata*
this.N.Sg right 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl include.3Sg freedom+the.F.Sg

čovekot, privatno ili javno, da
man+the.M.Sg individually or publicly Subjun.Mark.Cl

*(*čovekot) ja manifestira svojata*
man+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl manifest.3Sg his-own.F.Sg+the.F.Sg

religija.
religion

'This right includes the freedom for a man, individually or together with others, to manifest his religion.'

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[24] This analysis was proposed by Larson (1988).

[25] Example (28b) is from "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights". As noted by Wayles Browne (personal communication), in Greek, which is otherwise like Macedonian in many ways, the subject occurs to the right of the subjunctive mood marker and the verb:

(i) *na ekdiloni kanis* Greek
Subjun.Mark manifest.3Sg anyone
'for anyone to do'

2.2.6.1. Not only the person and number features of the tensed verbs, but also the gender and number features of the participles are derived through agreement with the subject.[26]

(29) a. *Ti ќe dojdeš.*
you will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg
'You will come.'

b. *Devojkata e dojdena.*
girl+the.F.Sg be.3Sg come.F.Sg.Past.Part
'The girl has come.'

3. Morphologically Marked Case Forms

The Macedonian objects and adjuncts may have oblique case form. There are also nouns with specific Voc forms.

3.1. Oblique Pronominal Forms

Personal pronouns in direct and indirect objects are represented by Acc or Dat pronominal clitics or by Acc non-clitic pronouns, which are obligatorily doubled by Acc or Dat pronominal clitics.[27]

3.1.1. In many western dialects, masculine singular personal demonstrative pronouns have Acc forms represented by the suffix *-ega*:

(30) a. *%Go gledaš onega?*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg that.Dist
'Do you see the one over there?'

b. *%Ne go bendisuvam ovega.*
not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl like.1Sg this.Prox1
'I do not like this one.'

3.1.2. The sequence *koj drug* 'who else', which may be treated as a compound interrogative, in the western dialects has special masculine personal Acc and Dat forms—*kogo drugego*, and *komu drugemu*, respectively:

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[26] The form and function of tensed verbs and participles are discussed in chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

[27] The forms and functions of these pronouns are discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

(31) a. *%Za kogo drugego da se*
for whom.M.Acc other.M.Acc Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
grižam?
take-care.1Sg
'But of whom else should I take care?'

b. *%Komu drugemu da go*
whom.M.Dat other.M.Dat Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
dam?
give.1Sg.Aor
'To whom else should I give it?'

3.2. Oblique Case Forms of Nouns Functioning as Internal Arguments

Masculine proper names and nouns denoting kinship terms used as objects can have Acc case markers. With nouns ending in a consonant or the vowel *-o* the Acc marker is *a*;[28] with nouns ending in the vowel *-i* the Acc marker is *-ja*; whereas with nouns ending in the vowel *-e* the Acc marker is *-ta*:[29]

(32) a. *Stojana* (Nomin. *Stojan*)
Stojan.M.Sg.Acc

b. *tatka* (Nomin. *tatko*)
father.M.Sg.Acc

c. *Ġorgija* (Nomin. *Ġorgi*)
Ġorgi.M.Sg.Acc

d. *vujčeta* (Nomin. *vujče*)
uncle.M.Sg.Acc

3.2.1. In (33) we have examples of proper names functioning as direct objects:[30]

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[28] The vowel *-o* is actually replaced by the vowel *-a*.

[29] The ending *(-e)ta* is transferred from the Common Slavic *-ę/-ęt-* declension of nouns of neutral gender. The Acc forms of the nouns *vujče* 'uncle' and *tate* 'dad', *vujčeta* and *tateta*, are, however, of masculine gender.

[30] In composite names (name plus surname), only the first part of the name, as in (i), or both parts, as in (ii), but not only the second part, as in (iii), can have an Acc marker:

(i) *Go videl Dimitra Jordanov.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part Dimitar.M.Sg.Acc Jordanov.M.Sg
'He reportedly saw Dimitar Jordanov.'

(33) *Go* *videl* *Stojana/* *Trajka/*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part Stojan.M.Sg.Acc Trajko.M.Sg.Acc
Ǵorgija/ *Petreta.*
Ǵorgi.M.Sg.Acc Petre.M.Sg.Acc
'He has reportedly seen Stojan/Trajko/Ǵorgi/Petre.'

3.2.2. In (34) we have examples of proper names functioning as indirect objects, which, like all indirect objects, are introduced by the preposition *na*, otherwise used in adjuncts denoting location.[31]

(34) *Mu* *go* *dadov* *na* *Petreta/*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor to Petre.M.Sg.Acc
Ivana.
Ivan.M.Sg.Acc
'I gave it to Petre/Ivan.'

3.2.3. With nouns denoting kinship terms functioning as direct or indirect objects, the Acc case markers with the endings *or* or *-ja* are, as a rule, modified by possessive clitics, whereas the Acc case markers with the ending *-ta* are not:[32]

(ii) *Go* *spomnavme* *Dimitra* *Jordanova.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl mention.1Pl.Aor Dimitar.M.Sg.Acc Jordanov.M.Sg.Acc
'We mentioned Dimitar Jordanov.'

(iii) **Go* *spomnavme* *Dimitar* *Jordanova.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl mention.1Pl.Aor Dimitar.M.Sg Jordanov.M.Sg.Acc

[31] An example of a locative adjunct is given in (i):

(i) *Knigata* *e* *na* *masata.*
book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg on table+the.F.Sg
'The book is on the table.'

Note that, when the objects are proper names of feminine gender, they occur in the Nomin case, as do all common nouns functioning as objects:

(ii) *Ì* *ja* *pretstaviv* *Ana/* *devojkata* *na* *Marija/*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl introduce.1Sg.Aor Ana girl+the.F.Sg to Marija
gostinkata.
guest.F.Sg+the.F.Sg
'I introduced Ana/the girl to Marija/the guest.'

[32] The nouns ending in *-ta* refer to family members that are related to the speaker.

(35) a_1 *%Go* *videl* *brata* *ti.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part brother.M.Sg.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'He has reportedly seen your brother.'

a_2 *%Go* *videl* *vujčeta* **mi.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part uncle.M.Sg.Acc 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'He has reportedly seen my uncle.'

b_1 *%Mu* *go* *dal* *na*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl given.M.Sg.*l*-Part to
tatka *im.*
father.M.Sg.Acc 3Pl.Dat.Cl
'He has reportedly given it to their father.'

b_2 *%Mu* *go* *dal* *na*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl given.M.Sg.*l*-Part to
tateta **si.*
father.M.Sg.Acc Refl.Dat.Cl
'He has reportedly given it to my father.'

3.2.3.1. Up to the beginning of the 20th century, there were human nouns not denoting family relationships, not only with Acc, but also with Dat case forms.[33]

(36) a. *%Sum* *isteran* *od* *stopana*
be.1Sg dismissed.M.Sg.Pass.Part from master.M.Sg.Acc
mi.
1Sg.Dat.Cl
'I have been dismissed by my master.'

b. *%Sum* *došol* *grobu* *na* *vrata...*
be.1Sg come.M.Sg.*l*-Part grave.M.Sg.Dat on door
'I have come at the door of my grave...'

[33] The examples (36a–b) are from Cepenkov stories (*cf.* Koneski 1967: 244), the examples (36c–d) from Šapkarev stories (*cf.* Sandfeld 1930: 172), in both cases with my glosses and translation. Sobolev (2004: 73) gives an example from a Macedonian dialect in which a preposition is used with a noun in the Dat case, i.e., an example with a combined synthetic-analytic case marking:

(i) *%(Mu)* *dava* *na* *Stojanu.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.3Sg to Stojan.M.Sg.Dat
'(S)he is giving (it) to Stojan.'

(36) c. *%Xamalot* *go* *fărli*
porter+the.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl throw.3Sg.Aor
popatogo *vo* *more.*
priest+the.M.Sg.Acc in sea
'The porter threw the priest in the sea.'

d. *%Mažot* *je* *velit* *žene*
husband+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl say.3Sg wife.F.Sg.Dat
si...
Dat.Refl.Cl
'The husband is telling his wife...'

3.2.3.2. In contemporary Macedonian, there are three human nouns not denoting family relationship—*čovek* 'man/person', *ǵavol* 'devil', and *gospod* 'Lord/God', with which Acc forms may occasionally appear:

(37) a. *Go* *fatil* *gospoda* *za* *brada.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl cought.M.Sg.*l*-Part Lord.M.Sg.Acc for beard
'He boasts a lot.' (lit. 'He caught the Lord by a beard.')

b. *Dajte* *mu* *na* *čoveka.*
give.2Pl.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl to man.M.Sg.Acc
'Give to the man.'

3.2.4. A direct object with an Acc marker can be followed by a human noun, to which Balkanists[34] refer as a "second object" in a "double object construction":

(38) a. *Go* *zedoa* *Petreta* *vojnik.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Pl.Aor Petre.M.Ssg.Acc soldier
'Petre was drafted.' (lit. 'They took Petre soldier.')

b. *Go* *proglasija* *tatka* *pretsedatel.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl proclaim.3Pl.Aor father.M.Sg.Acc president
'They proclaimed father president.'

The "second object" is, however, a small clause predicate to the right of a noun equivalent to the "first object".[35]

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[34] *E.g.*, Sandfeld (1930); Koneski (1967); Topolinjska (1995).

[35] (38a) would actually be derived from (i):

3.2.5. In the northern Macedonian dialects, which border with the southern Serbian dialects, Acc case markers are widespread and appear not only with masculine, but also with feminine objects and adjuncts.[36] Thus, in the dialect of Kumanovo we have the following clauses:[37]

(39) a. *%Vide* *gu* *profesorku.*
see.Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl profesor.F.Sg.Acc
'I/you/(s)he saw the professor.'

b. *%Vide* *gu* *sestru* *vu.*
see.Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl sister.F.Sg.Acc 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'I/you/(s)he saw her sister.'

c. *%Dade* *vu* *na* *profesorku.*
give.Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl to professor.F.Sg.Acc
'I/you/(s)he gave (it) to the professor.'

d. *%Nemamo* *nikakvu* *zaštitu* *od*
not+have.1Pl no-kind.F.Sg.Acc protection.F.Sg.Acc from
državu.
state.F.Sg.Acc
'We have no protection from the state.'

3.2.6. In the dialects of eastern Macedonia, as well as in the Macedonian dialects in northern Greece and some Macedonian dialects at the border of Macedonia with Albania, there is a tendency to generalize the use of the preposition *na*; it occurs not only in all expressions articulating dative (indirect object) relationships, but also in all expressions articulating accusative (direct object) relationships:

(i) *Go* *zedoa* *Petreta* *(Petre* *vojnik).*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.1Pl.Aor Petre.Acc Petre soldier

[36] Note that analogous case markers occur in the southeastern Serbian dialects.

[37] Note that in the dialect of Kumanovo there are no postpositive articles and demonstrative determiners can be used instead:

(i) *%Daj* *mi* *gu* *tuj* *topku!*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl that.F.Sg ball.Acc
'Give me the ball!'

(40) a. *%Go* *vidov* *na* *Petreta/* *strika*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor to Petre.M.Sg.Acc uncle.M.Sg.Acc
ti.
2Sg.Dat.Cl
'I saw Petre/your uncle.'

b. *%Ja* *vikna* *na* *devojkata.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl call.3Sg.Aor to girl+the.F.Sg
'(S)he called the girl.'

3.2.7. In standard Macedonian, there are syntactic reflexes of the instrumental case. Koneski (1967: 264) quotes the following examples:

(41) a. *Frla* *puška.*
throw.3Sg gun.F.Sg
'(S)he fired (with the gun).'

b. *Ḱe* *mi* *sviri* *gajda.*
will 1Sg.Dat.Cl play.3Sg bagpipe.F.Sg
'(S)he will play to me with the bagpipe.'

3.3. Oblique Case Forms in Adjuncts

Pronouns, masculine proper names, and nouns denoting kinship terms can have Acc forms when functioning in adjuncts.

3.3.1 Pronouns in prepositional adjunct position are always represented by Acc case forms.

(42) a. *Dojde* *so/* *bez* *mene.*
come.1Sg.Aor with without me.Acc
'(S)he came with me/without me.'

b. *Zboruvaše* *protiv/* *za* *nego.*
talk.3Sg.Imperf against for him.Acc
'(S)he was talking against/about him.'

c. *Veruva* *vo* *tebe.*
believe.3Sg in you.Sg.Acc
'(S)he believes in you.'

(42) d. *Odi po vas.*
go.3Sg after you.Pl.Acc
'(S)he follows you.' (lit. '(S)he is going after you.)'

e. *Avionot letaše vrz mene.*
airplane+the.M.Sg fly.3Sg.Imperf on-top me.Acc
'The airplane was flying on top of me.'

f. *Skokna nad mene.*
jump.3Sg.Aor above me.Acc
'(S)he jumped on top of me.'

3.3.2. Masculine proper names and nouns denoting family relationship in prepositional adjunct position have Nomin or Acc case forms:

(43) a. *Dojde so/ bez Stojan/ Stojana/*
come.1Sg.Aor with without Stojan.Nomin Stojan.Acc
brat/ brata mi.
brother.Nomin brother.Acc 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'(S)he came with/without Stojan/my brother.'

b. *Odela po Trajko/ Trajka/ vujko*
go.F.Sg.*l*-Part after Trajko.Nomin Trajko.Acc uncle.Nomin
im/ vujka im.
3Pl.Dat.Cl uncle.Acc 3Pl.Dat.Cl
'She has reportedly followed Trajko/their uncle.' (lit. 'S(he) has reportedly gone after Trajko/their uncle.')

c. *Vljubena e vo Miladin/ Miladina/*
in-love.F.Sg.Pass.Part be.3Sg in Miladin.Nomin Miladin.Acc
bratučed/ bratučeda mi.
cousin.Nomin cousin.Acc 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'She is in love with Miladin/my cousin.'

3.3.3. Adjuncts with the preposition *vo* express either direction or location. Examples:

(44) a. *Živee vo golem grad.*
live.3Sg in big.M.Sg town/city
'(S)he lives in a big city.'

(44) b. *Otide* *vo* *golem* *grad.*
go.3Sg.Aor to big.M.Sg town/city.
'(S)he went to a big city.'

3.3.3.1. When occurring to the left of non-articled nouns referring to places identifiable by the speaker and the addressee the directional *vo* has a vowel-less counterpart *v*.

(45) *Otide* *v* *grad/* *v* *selo.*
go.3Sg.Aor in town in village.
'(S)he went to the town/village.'

3.3.3.2. When expressing direction to geographic places, *vo* and *v* can optionally be left out:

(46) *Otide* *(vo)* *Skopje/* *(v)* *Ohrid.*
go.3Sg.Aor in Skopje in Ohrid
'(S)he went to Skopje/Ohrid.'

3.3.3.3. Some hackneyed phrases expressing direction, such as those in (47), are always without prepositions:

(47) a. *Si* *odam* *doma.*
Dat.Refl.Cl go.1Sg home
'I am going home.'

b. *%Odam* *crkov.*
go.1Sg church
'I am going to church.'

3.3.4. Adjuncts in which direction is expressed by prepositions other than *vo* may occur as sequences of prepositions.

3.3.4.1. In (48) direction is expressed by an adjunct with a sequence of prepositions to the left of common nouns in the Nomin case.

(48) *Da* *otideme* *do* *na* *lozje.*
Subjun.Mark go.1Pl.Pf.Pres up-to on vineyard
'Let's go up to the vineyard.'

3.3.4.2. In (49) direction is expressed by adjuncts with sequences of prepositions to the left of masculine proper names and nouns denoting family relationship, which often have Acc case markers:

(49) a. *Dojde* *od* *kaj* *Trajka/* *brata* *ti.*
come.3Sg.Aor from at Trajko.Acc brother.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'(S)he came from Trajko's/your brother's place.'

b. *Otide* *nakaj* *Miladina/* *tatka* *ti.*
go.3Sg.Aor on+at Miladin.Acc father.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'(S)he went towards Miladin's/your father's place.'

3.4. Vocative Case Forms

Voc case forms appear with masculine and feminine proper names, geographic names and human common nouns. They depend on the gender of the noun and the final phoneme of the Nomin forms.

3.4.1. Masculine singular common nouns ending in a consonant have Voc forms with the ending *-e* or *-u*.[38] When the vowel *-e* follows the stops *k* or *g*, these stops are replaced by the affricate *č* or the fricative *ž*. Examples:

(50) a. *Brate!* (Nomin. *brat*)
brother.M.Voc

b. *Kume!* (Nomin. *kum*)
god-father.M.Voc

c. *Vraže!* or *Vragu!* (Nomin. *vrag*)
arch-fiend.M.Voc

d. *Majstore!* (Nomin. *majstor*)
workman.M.Voc

e. *Ovčare!* or *Ovčaru!* (Nomin. *ovčar*)
shepherd.M.Voc

f. *Prijatele!* or *Prijatelu!* (Nomin. *prijatel*)
friend.M.Voc

g. *Junače!* or *Junaku!* (Nomin. *junak*)
hero.M.Voc

[38] Koneski (1967: 237) argues that there is a tendency for monosyllabic words to take the vowel *-u* and for polysyllabic words to take the vowel *-e*, but admits that in many cases this tendency is overruled. As observed, there are nouns that can take either *-u* or *-e*.

3.4.2. Masculine nouns denoting belonging to a certain nationality also have Voc forms with the vowels *-e* or *-u*, but when the Nomin form of the noun ends on the vowel *e* followed by the consonants *c*, the Voc form ends on *če*:

(51) a. *Srbine!* (Nomin. *Srbin*)
Serb.M.Voc

b. *Bugarinu!* (Nomin. *Bugarin*)
Bulgarian.M.Voc

c. *Italijančе!* (Nomin. *Italijanec*)
Vardar.M.Voc

3.4.3. Masculine proper and geographic names have Voc forms ending in the vowel *-e*:

(52) a. *Stojane!* (Nomin. *Stojan*)
Stojan.M.Voc

b. *Lazare!* (Nomin. *Lazar*)
Lazar.M.Voc

c. *Miloše!* (Nomin. *Miloš*)
Miloš.M.Voc

(53) a. *Vardare!* (Nomin. *Vardar*)
Vardar.M.Voc

b. *Dunave!* (Nomin. *Dunav*)
Danube.M.Voc

3.4.4. Feminine proper names and singular common human nouns of any gender ending in the vowel *-a*, as a rule, have Voc forms ending in the vowel *-o*, which replaces the final vowel of the nominative form:[39]

(54) a_1 *Marijo!* (Nomin. *Marija*)
Maria.F.Sg.Voc

a_2 *Nado!* (Nomin. *Nada*)
Nada.M.Sg.Voc

[39] In the urban centers, the Voc proper name forms ending on *-o* are considered derogatory and the Nomin forms are used instead.

(54) b_1 *Sestro!* (Nomin. *sestra*)
sister.F.Sg.Voc

b_2 *Sudijo!* (Nomin. *sudija*)
judge.M.Sg.Voc

3.4.4.1. In Voc forms of feminine proper names or common human nouns ending in *-ka, -ga* or *-ca* the vowel *-a* is replaced by *-e*:[40]

(55) a_1 *Olge!* (Nomin. *Olga*)
Olga.F.Sg.Voc

a_1 *Elice!* (Nomin. *Elica*)
Elica.F.Sg.Voc

b_1 *Učitelke!* (Nomin. *učitelka*)
teacher.F.Sg.Voc

b_2 *Profesorke!* (Nomin. *profesorka*)
professor.F.Sg.Voc

3.4.5. The Voc forms can be preceded by the interjections *o(j),(h)ej, (a) bre,* or *a more:*

(56) a. *Oj ovčaru/ovčare!* (Nomin. *ovčar*)
Interj shepherd.M.Sg.Voc
'Hello, shepherd!'

b. *Ej drugaru/drugare!* (Nomin. *drugar*)
Interj friend.M.Sg.Voc
'Hello, friend!'

c. *A bre bratučedu/bratučede!* (Nomin. *bratučed*)
and Interj cousin.M.Sg.Voc
'You, cousin!'

---

[40] Diminutives also have an *-e* ending. Note, however, that in the diminutives of the nouns ending in *-ka, -ga,* or *-ca*, the consonant before the diminutive is palatalized. For example:

(i) *Oldže*
Olga.F.Sg.Dimin

(ii) *Milče*
Milka.F.Sg.Dimin

(56) d. *%A more pezevenku!* (Nomin. *pezevenk*)
and Interj scoundrel.M.Sg.Voc
'You scoundrel!'

3.4.6. Adjectives, possessive modifiers and indefinite determiners may accompany not only the Voc forms of proper names and human common nouns, but also the Voc forms of non-human animate or even inanimate common nouns. In such cases, the adjectives may occur pre-nominally or post-nominally, while the possessive modifiers and indefinite determiners always occur post-nominally.[41] Examples:

(57) a. *Mila sestričke!* (Nomin. *sestrička*)
dear.F.Sg sister.Dimin.F.Sg.Voc
'Dear little sister!'

b. *Dragi učitele/učitelu!* (Nomin. *učitel*)
dear.M.Sg.Def.Adj teacher.M.Sg.Voc
'(My) dear teacher!'

c. *Denu božji!* (Nomin. *den*)
day.M.Sg.Voc God's.M.Sg
'What a day!' (lit. 'You, God's day!')

(58) a. *Bože moj!* (Nomin. *bog*)
God.M.Sg.Voc my.M.Sg
'My God!'

b. *Mažu moj!* (Nomin. *maž*)
husband.M.Sg.Voc my.M.Sg
'You, my husband!'

---

[41] Masculine singular adjectives that in Voc expressions occur pre-nominally or post-nominally, have kept the Common Slavic long or definite adjectival form, ending in *-i* (*cf.* 1.2.2 in chapter 7, entitled "The Category of Definiteness and the Articles").

The expressions in which the Voc form is accompanied by indefinite articles are treated as insults. Neuter nouns have no specific Voc case forms. Nevertheless, they can be used in the same insulting constructions as the masculine and feminine nouns in (59). Example:

(i) *Magare edno!* (Nomin. *magare*)
donkey.N.Sg a.N.Sg
'You donkey!'

(58) c. *Konju* *moj!* (Nomin. *konj*)
horse.M.Sg.Voc my.M.Sg
'You, my horse!'

d. *Zemjo* *moja!* (Nomin. *zemja*)
country.F.Sg.Voc my.F.Sg
'You, my country!'

e. *Gradu/grade* *naš!* (Nomin. *grad*)
town.M.Sg.Voc our.M.Sg
'This town of ours!'

(59) a. *Zmijo* *edna!* (Nomin. *zmija*)
snake.F.Sg.Voc a.F.Sg
'You snake!'

b. *Kravo* *edna!* (Nomin. *krava*)
cow.F.Sg.Voc a.F.Sg
'You cow!'

c. *%Pezevenku* *eden!* (Nomin. *pezevenk*)
scoundrel.M.Sg.Voc a.M.Sg
'You scoundrel!'

4. Clitic Doubling

The direct and indirect Macedonian objects can be clitic-doubled by pronominal clitics. While personal pronominal objects are clitic doubled obligatorily,[42] lexical objects and 'wh' words are clitic-doubled under certain conditions.

4.1. Clitic-Doubling of Lexical Direct Objects

In clitic-doubling of lexical direct objects, definiteness plays a central role.

4.1.1. All definite lexical direct objects are clitic-doubled, whether human or non-human, animate, or inanimate, concrete or abstract:

[42] Examples of clitic-doubled pronouns are given in section 2.2.3 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals."

(60) *Jana go vide Petka/ volkot/*
Jana 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor Petko.Acc wolf+the.M.Sg
pismoto/ oblakot.
letter+the.N.Sg cloud+the.N.Sg
'Jana saw Petko/the wolf/the letter/the cloud.'

4.1.2. Definite determiner phrases (DPs) are most often specific, but can also be non-specific. Specificity, however, plays no role when the direct object is definite. The direct objects in (60) are both unique and referentially identified, i.e., they are specific definites. The direct object in (61), on the other hand, can receive a specific or a non-specific interpretation, but it is invariably clitic-doubled:

(61) *Jana *(go) bara režiserot.*
Jana 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl look-for.3Sg movie-director+the.M.Sg
1. 'Jana is looking for the movie-director (namely, for X, who happens to be the movie-director).'
2. 'Jana is looking for the movie-director (whoever it may be).'

4.1.3. Indefinite direct objects are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled. Thus, in (62), where the direct objects have indefinite articles, the doubling clitics are not accepted, irrespective of whether the objects receive a specific or non-specific interpretation:

(62) a. *Jana (*go) bara eden slaven*
Jana 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl look-for.3Sg a.M.Sg famous.M.Sg
režiser.
movie-director
1. 'Jana is looking for a famous movie-director (she happened to meet the other day).'
2. 'Jana is looking for a famous movie-director (whoever that may be).'

b. *Jana (*ja) bara edna crvena tetratka.*
Jana 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl look-for.3Sg a.F.Sg red.F.Sg notebook
1. 'Jana is looking for a red notebook (which she bought the other day).'
2. 'Jana is looking for a red notebook (which may be new or used).'

4.1.4. With partitive indefinites, clitic-doubling of direct objects does involve specificity. As illustrated in (63), when the object is specific, it is clitic-doubled, while when it is non-specific it is not clitic-doubled:

(63) a. *Ja* *omaži* *edna* *od* *ќerkite.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl marry.3Sg.Aor a.F.Sg of daughters+the.Pl
'(S)he married off one of his/her daughters (namely, Ana).'

b. *Omaži* *edna* *od* *ќerkite.*
marry.3Sg.Aor a.F.Sg of daughters+the.Pl
'(S)he married off one of his/her daughters (it does not matter which one).'

But partitives are not true indefinites. As pointed out by von Heusinger (2002), partitives are complex expressions that involve an indefinite choice from a definite set.[43]

4.1.5. Specific indefinite direct objects in heavy (complex) sentences can also be clitic-doubled:

(64) a. *(Go)* *nateraa* *eden* *čovek* *da*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl force.3Pl.Aor a.M.Sg man Subjun.Mark.Cl
ja *izvadi* *pločata.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl take-out.3Sg.Aor slab+the.F.Sg
'(I saw how) they forced a (specific) man to remove the slab.'

b. *(Ja)* *videle* *edna* *moja* *drugarka*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.Pl.*l*-Part a.F.Sg my.F.Sg friend.F
kako *sleguva* *od* *brodot.*
how descend.3Sg from ship+the.M.Sg
'They reportedly saw a (specific) friend of mine get off the ship.'

4.1.6. On the basis of the occurrence of the clitic in examples such as (64a–b), Berent (1980) concludes that it is not definiteness, but rather specificity that is crucial for the clitic-doubling of Macedonian direct objects, and Franks and King (1995: 252–53), basing their analysis on Berent's examples, arrive at the same conclusion. Nevertheless, as shown by the unacceptability of the clitics in (62), specificity *per se* does not open the door for direct-object clitic-doubling. One might speculate that the subjunctive complement in sentences such as (64a) and the modifying clause in sentences such as (64b) are responsible for a type of specificity different from that illustrated in

[43] On Anagnostopoulou and Giannakidou's (1995) scale of referentiality, partitives are more referential than referential indefinites:

(i) referential indefinites > partitives > weak definites > novel definites > proper names and definite descriptions > definites > demonstratives > anaphoric pronouns.

(63),[44] but even then clitic-doubling is not obligatory, as it is in the case of definite direct objects. Moreover, as shown by the unacceptability of the clitic in (65), where the nouns are non-human, not only specificity, but also humanness might be involved in allowing or disallowing clitic-doubling:

(65) a. *(*Ja)* *videle* *edna* *krava* *kako* *vleguva*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.Pl.*l*-Part a.F.Sg cow how enter.3Sg

vo *kuќata.*
in house+the.F.Sg

'They reportedly saw a cow entering the house.'

b. *(*Ja)* *videle* *edna* *moja* *kniga*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.Pl.*l*-Part a.F.Sg my.M.Sg book

kako *paǵa* *od* *prozorecot.*
how fall.3Sg from window+the.M.Sg

'They reportedly saw a book of mine fall from the window.'

4.1.7. The occurrence of direct objects in topic or focus positions in the Left Periphery, as a rule, has no effect on its co-occurrence with the Acc clitic. I am, however, aware of one exception to this rule: Indefinites which could conveniently be labelled "contrastive indefinites",[45] are not clitic-doubled when they occur to the right of the verb (*cf.* 66a), or occupy a focus position in the Left Periphery (*cf.* 66b), but have to co-occur with an Acc clitic when they occur in a topic position in the Left Periphery (*cf.* 66c):

(66) a. *(*Go)* *zapalija* *edno* *drugo* *selo.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl.Aor a.N.Sg other.N.Sg village

'They set on fire another village.'

b. *EDNO* *DRUGO* *SELO* *(*go)* *zapalija.*
a.N.Sg other.N.Sg village 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl.Aor

'It is another village that they set on fire.'

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[44] Anagnostopoulou and Giannakidou (1995) point out that cross-linguistically it is not always specificity, narrowly defined, that affects clitic doubling.

[45] The referents of these indefinites are always in contrast with some other objects in the domain of discourse. In English, the nouns of the "contrastive indefinites" are determined by *one other* or *another.*

(66) c. *Edno drugo selo, *(go) zapalija.*
a.N.Sg other.N.Sg village 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl.Aor
'As for one other village, they set it on fire.'

In (66c), where the occurrence of the clitic is obligatory, a contrast with a definite set is involved and one can speak of a "D-linked" clitic.[46]

4.1.8. Bare indefinite direct objects are never clitic-doubled. Thus, the clitics in (67) are not acceptable, whatever the type of the noun.[47]

(67) a. *Jana (*go) vide dete/ volk/ voz/ oblak.*
Jana 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor child wolf train cloud
'Jana saw a child/wolf/train/cloud.'

b. *Kuče TREVA ne (*ja) jade.*
dog grass not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg
'As for dogs, they do not eat grass.' (lit. 'As for a dog, it does not eat grass.')

c. *(*Go) čuv dete kako plače.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl hear.1Sg.Aor child how cry.3Sg
'I heard a child crying.'

4.2. Clitic-Doubling of Lexical Indirect Objects

As in many other Balkan languages, clitic doubling of lexical indirect objects is in Macedonian contingent on specificity.[48]

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[46] Thus, along with specificity, topicalization could be treated as peripherally instrumental in the co-occurrence of clitics with Macedonian direct objects. But definiteness still plays a central role.

[47] Topolinjska (1995: 94) gives an example of clitic-doubling of a noun without an article, from a Macedonian dialect spoken in northern Greece, noting that clitic-doubling can sometimes occur with indefinite human direct objects:

(i) *%...i ko si dojde vremeto, go*
and when Dat.Refl.Cl come.3Sg.Aor time+the.N.Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
rodi dete.
bear.3Sg.Aor child
'...and when the time came she gave birth to a child.'

[48] As pointed out in section 2.2 of chapter 7, entitled "The Category of Definiteness and the Articles", specificity is distinct from definiteness.

4.2.1. Nouns with indefinite articles are most often clitic-doubled, and can be clitic doubled even when non-specific:[49]

(68) a. *Jana *(mu) go dade pismoto*
Jana 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl gave.3Sg.Aor letter+the.N.Sg
na eden moj učenik.
to a.M.Sg my.M.Sg student
'Jana gave the letter to a student of mine.'

b. *Jana (mu) go dade pismoto*
Jana 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl gave.3Sg.Aor letter+the.N.Sg
na edno dete.
to a.N.Sg child
'Jana gave the letter to a child (whose identity is not important).'

c. *Jana (mu) go dala pismoto*
Jana 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl given.*l*-Part.F.Sg letter+the.N.Sg
na nekoe-si dete.
to some.N.Sg.Non-Specif child
'Jana has reportedly given the letter to some child (whoever that may be).'

4.2.2. Nouns with definite indirect lexical objects are clitic-doubled or not, depending in whether they are specific or not:[50]

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[49] The occurrence of the Dat clitic in non-specific indefinite indirect objects may vary from dialect to dialect and from speaker to speaker.

[50] Compare with definite direct objects, which always have to be clitic-doubled:

(i) *Sakam da *(go) vidam našiot*
want.1Sg Subjun.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Pf.Pres our+the.M.Sg
najslaven režiser.
Superl.Mark+famous movie-director
'I want to see our most famous movie-director.'

In a clause conjoined with a clause with a specific indefinite article the verb is accompanied by an accusative clitic:

(ii) *Barav edna devojka, no ne ja najdov.*
look-for.1Sg.Imperf a.F.Sg girl but not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl find.1Sg.Aor
'I was looking for a specific girl but did not find her.'

(69) a. *Sakam* *da* *mu* *dadam*
want.1Sg Subjun.Mark.Cl Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres
cveḱe[51] *na* *našiot* *najslaven* *režiser.*
flower to our+the.M.Sg Superl.Mark+famous movie-director
'I want to give flowers to our most famous movie-director (namely to Milčo).'

b. *Sakam* *da* *dadam* *cveḱe* *na*
want.1Sg Subjun.Mark.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres flower to
našiot *najslaven* *režiser.*
our+the.M.Sg Superl.Mark+famous movie-director
'I want to give flowers to our most famous movie-director (whoever it is).'

4.2.3. In some cases, the specificity effect disappears and the clitic can optionally be left out even when the definite indirect object is obviously specific, irrespective of whether it is in post-verbal position or in topic or focus position in the Left Periphery:[52]

(70) a. *?(Im)* *davam* *knigi* *na* *decava.*
3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg books to children+the.Pl.Prox1
'I am giving books to these children.'

b. *NA* *DECAVA* *?(im)* *davam* *knigi.*
to children+the.Pl.Prox1 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg books
'It is to these children that I am giving books.'

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[51] *Cveḱe* is here a singular noun with a plural meaning.

[52] Note that this can never happen with direct objects. Thus, (i–iii) would be unacceptable without the Acc clitic:

(i) **(Gi)* *davam* *knigive* *na* *deca.*
3Pl.Acc.Cl give.1Sg books+the.Pl.Prox1 to children
'I am giving these books to children.'

(ii) *KNIGIVE* **(gi)* *davam* *na* *deca.*
children+the.Pl.Prox1 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.1Sg to children
'It is these books that I am giving to children.'

(iii) *Knigive* *na* *DECA* **(gi)* *davam.*
books+the.Pl.Prox1 to children 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.1Sg
'As to these books, it is to children that I am giving them.'

(70) c. *Na decava* *KNIGI* *?(im)* *davam.*
to children+the.Pl.Prox1 books 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg
'As for these children, it is books that I am giving to them.'

4.2.4. Bare indefinites, which can never be specific, can also be optionally clitic doubled, whether they occur post-verbally or in focus or topic positions in the Left Periphery:[53]

(71) a. *Jana (mu)* *go* *dade* *pismoto*
Jana 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor letter+the.N.Sg
na dete.
na child
'Jana gave the letter to a (mere) child.'

b. *Na DETE (mu)* *go* *dade*
to child 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
pismoto.
letter+the.N.Sg
'It is to a (mere) child that (s)he gave the letter.'

c. *Na kuče, TREVA ne (mu)* *se* *dava.*
to dog grass not 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl give.3Sg
'As for dogs, one should not give them grass.'

4.2.5. The disappearance of the specificity effect in the use of the Dat clitic indicates that this clitic is actually much more close to becoming a mere case marker than the Acc clitic is.

4.3. Clitic-Doubling of 'wh' Words

The inflecting 'wh' words *koj* 'who' and *čij* 'whose', and the invariant 'wh' word *što* 'what/what kind/that',[54] are involved in clitic-doubling or clitic-resuming.

4.3.1. The Dat and Acc pronominal forms of the interrogative pronouns *koj* 'who', *komu* 'who.Dat', and *kogo* 'who.Acc', can refer to a specific or to a non-specific per-

[53] The occurrence of the clitic with bare indirect objects varies from dialect to dialect and from speaker to speaker.

[54] The forms and functions of the 'wh' words are discussed in section 4 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

son. When referring to a specific person they are clitic doubled. Compare ($72a_1$) to ($72a_2$) and ($72b_1$) to ($72b_2$):

(72) a_1 *Kogo* *vide?*
whom.Acc see.2/3Sg.Aor
'Who did you/(s)he see?'

a_2 *Kogo* *go* *vide?*
whom.Acc 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2/3Sg.Aor
'Who (of the persons we know) did you/(s)he see?'

b_1 *Komu* *gi* *dade* *cveḱinjata?*
whom.Dat 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.2/3Sg.Aor flowers+the.Pl
'To whom did you/(s)he give the flowers?'

b_2 *Komu* *mu* *gi* *dade* *cveḱinjata?*
whom.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.2/3Sg.Aor flowers+the.Pl
'To whom (of the persons we know) did you/(s)he give the flowers?'

4.3.2. The forms of the interrogative 'wh' modifiers *koj* 'which.M.Sg' are specific whenever they modify direct or indirect objects and, in these cases, they always co-occur with clitics:

(73) a. *Koja* *devojka* *ja* *sakaš?*
which.F.Sg girl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl love.2Sg
'Which girl (of the girls we know) do you love?'

b. *Na koj* *student* *mu* *dade* *desetka?*
to which.M.Sg student 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.2/3Sg.Aor ten.Noun
'To which students (of the students we have) did you/(s)he give a ten?'

4.3.3. While the interrogative 'wh' word *što* 'what/what-kind' always relates to a non-specific noun and does not co-occur with a clitic, the relative 'wh' word *što* 'that' relativizes definite or specific nouns and co-occurs with resumptive pronominal clitics: [55]

[55] Since *što* functions as an invariant relativizer, it has, with a variety of antecedents, been referred to as *relativum generale* or "general relativizer".

(74) a. *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek* *što* *go* *sretnavme...*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man that 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet.1Pl.Aor

'The man/a man that we met...'

b. *Knigata/* *edna* *kniga* *što* *mi* *ja*
book+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg book that 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

dadovte...
give.2Pl.Aor

'The book/a book that you gave me...'

4.3.4. As alternatives to *što* 'that', one can use forms of *koj* 'who' or "double relativizers" in which *što* is preceded by forms of *koj*.[56]

4.3.4.1. When the relative clause refers to masculine singular human objects, the Acc or Dat form of *koj* is used:

(75) a. *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek* *što/* *kogo/*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man that whom.M.Sg.Acc

kogošto *go* *sretnavme...*
whom.M.Sg.Acc+that 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet.1Pl.Aor

'The man/a man whom we met....'

b. *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek* *što/* *komu/*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man that whom.M.Sg.Dat

komušto *mu* *ja* *dadovme*
whom.M.Sg.Dat+that 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Pl.Aor

knigata...
book+the.F.Sg

'The man/a man to whom we gave the book....'

4.3.4.2. In all other cases, we have forms of *koj* that reflect the gender and number of the referent (*koj* 'who.M.Sg', *koja* 'who.F.Sg', *koe* 'who.N.Sg', *koi* 'who.Pl') and, when functioning as indirect objects, are preceded by the preposition *na* 'to':[57]

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[56] All alternatives are acceptable, but with inanimate objects the relativizer *što* is highly preferred to forms of *koj* and *kojšto*.

[57] When preceded by the preposition *na* 'to', the masculine singular accusative form may be used as an alternative to the masculine singular dative form *komu*.

(76) a. *Petelot/ eden petel što/ koj/*
rooster+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg rooster that who.M.Sg

kojšto go zaklavme...
who.M.Sg+that 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl kill.1Pl.Aor

'The rooster/a rooster that we killed....'

b. *Devojkata/ edna devojka što/ koja/ kojašto*
girl+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg girl that who.F.Sg who.F.Sg+that

majka ti ja videla...
mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.F.Sg.*l*-Part

'The girl whom your mother saw...'

c. *Deteto/ edno dete na koe/ na koešto*
child+the.N.Sg a.N.Sg child to who.N.Sg to who.N.Sg+that

mu dadovme podarok...
3Sg.N.Dat.Cl give.1Pl.Aor present

'The child/a child to whom we gave a present...'

d. *Studentite/ edni studenti što/ koi/ koišto*
students+the.F.Sg a.Pl students that who.Pl who.Pl+that

gi sretnavme včera...
3Pl.Acc.Cl meet.1Pl.Aor yesterday

'The students/some students that we met yesterday...'

4.3.5. The forms of the interrogative 'wh' modifiers *čij* 'whose' can be specific or non-specific and in the former case are doubled by Dat or Acc clitics.

(77) a. *Čija šapka ja nema?*
whose.F.Sg hat 3Sg.Acc.Cl not+have.3Sg

'Whose hat is missing?' (lit. 'Whose is not there?')

b. *Na čii deca im dade podaroci?*
to whose.Pl children 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.2/3Sg.Aor presents

'To whose children did you/(s)he give presents?'

4.3.6. The forms of the relative 'wh' word *čij* 'whose', alone or accompanied by the relativizer *što* 'that', modify nouns of any type and, along with those nouns, are

clitic resumed when relativizing definite or specific indefinite referents, whether human or non-human.[58]

4.3.6.1. When *čij* 'whose' modifies a noun functioning as a direct object, the resumptive clitic is an accusative pronominal clitic, while when it modifies a noun functioning as an indirect object, the resumptive clitic is a dative pronominal clitic. In both cases, the resumptive clitic agrees in gender and number with the modified noun and the modifier *čij* and not with its referent:

(78) a. *Ženata/* *edna* *žena,* *čij(što)* *sin*
woman+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg woman whose.M.Sg+that son

go *vidov...*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor

'The woman/a woman whose son I saw ...'

b. *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek,* *čija(što)* *sestra*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man whose.F.Sg+that sister

ja *vidov...*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor

'The man/a man whose sister I saw...'

c. *Kompanijata/* *edna* *kompanija* *čii(što)* *uslugi*
company+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg company whose.Pl+that services

gi *koristime...*
3Pl.Acc.Cl use.1Pl

'The company/a company whose services we are using...'

(79) a. *Ženata/* *edna* *žena* *na* *čij(što)* *sin*
woman+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg woman to whose.M.Sg+that son

mu *dadov* *podarok...*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Aor present

'The woman/a woman to whose son I gave a present...'

[58] When the noun modified by *čij* functions as a direct object, the referent of *čij* can be human or non-human; when it functions as an indirect object, the referent of *čij* is, however, predominately human.

(79) b. *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek* *na* *čija(što)* *sestra*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man to whose.F.Sg+that sister

i *dadov* *podarok...*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Aor present

'The man/a man to whose sister I gave a present...'

c. *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek/* *ženata/* *edna* *žena*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man woman+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg woman

na *čii(što)* *braḱa* *im* *dadov* *podarok...*
to whose.Pl+that brothers 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Pl.Aor present

'The man/a man/the woman/a woman to whose brothers I gave a present…'

Chapter 10

Aspectual Distinctions

1. Aspectual Distinctions in the Macedonian Verb System

The verbs in Macedonian, as in the Slavic languages in general, robustly mark aspect. The category of aspect relates to the concept of time, as the category of tense does, but whereas tense locates the states and events in a clause, currently referred to as eventualities,[1] in relation to points of time, aspect deals with the internal temporal organization of an event and the degree of its completion.

1.1. In Old Church Slavonic, aspect was doubly marked: through the tense forms of the aorist and the imperfect, as well as through the perfective/imperfective aspectual morphemes, and aspectual distinctions were morphologically independent of tense distinctions.[2] On the one hand, almost all verbs occurred in aspectual pairs with one member of the pair being perfective, and the other imperfective. On the other hand, each of the aspectually marked verbs could be found in either of the two aspectual tenses—the aorist and the imperfect (*cf.* Migdalski 2006: 20). While in East and West Slavic the aspectual past tenses have completely disappeared, in South Slavic they are still active, albeit to different degrees in different languages. Thus, in Bulgarian both imperfective and perfective verbs occur in both the aorist and the imperfect, the imperfective aorist being used when there is no concrete definite end result of an event, or when the occurrence of a major event is the main issue in the narration, rather than its termination (*cf.* Scatton (1984: 341–22), the perfective imperfect being describable as an unbounded repetitive or habitual situation. In Macedonian, on the other hand, the aorist is basically made from perfective verbs, while the imperfect is made from both imperfective and perfective verbs, but perfects from perfective verbs are used only in mood structures.[3]

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[1] The term 'eventuality' was introduced by Bach (1986).

[2] Comrie (1976: 89) sees it as possible that at an early stage in the development of the Slavic languages, prefixing did not in itself lead to perfectivization. Subsequently, certain prefixal usage came to be interpreted as specifically perfective, although the opposition perfective: imperfective was certainly not yet a fully developed system offering two aspectual forms for all (or nearly all) verbs, so that those verbs that did not have specifically prefixed forms had no specifically perfective forms.

[3] The participles which take part in the perfect and evidential constructions also have aspectual distinctions. Their forms relate to the forms of the present and past tenses and are discussed in section 4 of chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

1.2. The aspectual distinctions in Macedonian, as in the Slavic languages in general, are morphologically expressed.

1.2.1. Generally speaking, we have: (a) base forms opposed to prefixations, (b) base forms opposed to suffixations, (c) base forms opposed to base forms with different base endings, (d) suppletive forms:[4]

(1)	a_1	*čita* read.Impf	a_2	*pročita* read-through.Pf
	b_1	*pluka* spit.Impf	b_2	*plukne* spit.Pf
	c_1	*frla* throw.Impf	c_2	*frli* throw.Pf
	d_1	*sluša* hear.Impf	d_2	*čue* hear.Pf

1.2.2. There are perfective verbs historically derived by adding prefixes to bases which no longer exist:

(2)	a_1	**leze*	a_2	*izleze* exit.Pf	a_3	*vleze* enter.Pf
	b_1	**tne*	b_2	*zatne* plug.Pf		

1.2.3. There are imperfective verbs historically derived from perfective verbs:[5]

(3)	a_1	*dade* give.Pf	a_2	*dava* give.Impf

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[4] The base forms are the third person singular present tense forms. They are also the citation forms. (Macedonian has no infinitives.)

Note that the prefixations may have stems which differ from those of the base forms:

(i')	*nosi* carry.Impf	(i")	*odnese* carry-off.Pf
(ii')	*jade* eat.Impf	(ii")	*izede* eat-up.Pf

[5] The addition of the suffix *-ja* has led to changes in the root. The dental voiceless plosive *t* is changed to the voiceless palatal plosive *ќ*, while the dental voiced plosive *d* is changed to the voiced palatal plosive *ѓ*.

(3)

b_1	*dojde*	come.Pf	b_2	*doaǵa* come.Impf
c_1	*fati*	catch.Pf	c_2	*faḱa* catch.Impf
d_1	*klade*	put.Pf	d_2	*klava* put.Impf
e_1	*krene*	lift.Pf	e_2	*kreva* lift.Impf
f_1	*najde*	find.Pf	f_2	*naoǵa* find.Impf
g_1	*plati*	pay.Pf	g_2	*plaḱa* pay.Impf
h_1	*rodi*	give-birth.Pf	h_2	*raǵa* give-birth.Impf
i_1	*umre*	die.Pf	i_2	*umira* die.Impf
j_1	*urne*	ruin.Pf	j_2	*urina* ruin.Impf

1.2.4. There are a number of verbs which can be either perfective or imperfective. Koneski (1967: 387) lists the following verbs: *cuti* 'blossom', *česti* 'treat', *deli* 'divide', *gosti* 'regale', *grabi* 'steal', *greši* 'err', *jade* 'eat', *kalemi* 'graft', *kani* 'invite', *krsti* 'baptize', *maži* 'marry', *praša* 'ask', *ruča* 'have lunch', *sladi* 'sweeten', *slika* 'paint', *srami* 'make ashamed', *večera* 'have dinner'.[6]

1.2.5. Verbs newly borrowed from other languages, which nearly always have the suffix *-ira* can be stressed on the first vowel of the suffix or on the last vowel of the base. Even when not prefixed, these verbs are either imperfective or perfective in the former case, but perfective in the latter case (*cf.* Koneski 1967: 387):[7]

(4)

a_1	*anali'zira*	analize.Impf/Pf	a_2	*ana'lizira* analize.Pf
b_1	*mas'kira*	mask.Impf/Pf	b_2	*'maskira* mask.Pf

[6] Some of these verbs are derived from nouns.

[7] As noted by Aneta Dučevska (personal communication), the possibility of the newly borrowed *-ira* verbs to be stressed on the first vowel of the suffix is petering out and there is a strong tendency for non-prefixed *-ira* verbs to be invariably imperfective.

1.2.6. A number of verbs borrowed from Greek or Turkish, which end on the non-productive suffidx *-sa*, such as *kinisa* 'start to go', *aresa* 'come to like', *navasa* 'catch up', *bojadisa* 'colour' are always perfective (*cf.* Koneski 1967: 385).

2. Aspect and *Aktionsart*

Aspect is often understood as grammaticalization of semantic distinctions whose lexicalization is referred to as *aktionsart* (*cf.* Comrie (1976: 7).[8]

2.1. The best known lexical classification of verbs is Vendler's (1967) classification into states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments—four lexical classes based on their boundedness in time and process. States are unbounded and do not entail any process; activities are also unbounded, but do involve a process; achievements are bounded but lack an identifiable process component, while accomplishments are bounded and include a process. [9]

2.2. The Macedonian non-prefixed and non-suffixed verbs, which most often are imperfective, can belong to any of the four categories. In (5a), (5b), (5c), and (5d) we have some examples of non-prefixed and non-suffixed verbs that are states, activities, achievements, or accomplishments, respectively:

(5)

a_1	*žali* 'feel sorry' [–bounded, –process]	a_2 *saka* 'love/like' [–bounded, –process]
b_1	*pliva* 'swim' [–bounded, +process]	b_2 *trča* 'run' [–bounded, +process]
c_1	*frla* 'throw' [+bounded, –process]	c_2 *gradi* 'build' [+bounded, –process]
d_1	*naoǵa* 'find' [+bounded, +process]	d_2 *gubi* 'lose' [+bounded, +process]

2.3. The non-suffixed prefixations are achievements or accomplishments, so that, when prefixed, the imperfective states or activities may change into perfective achievements or accomplishments. The changes can be tested by tests related to Vendler's (1967) tests for lexical verb classes. Thus, the fact that the imperfective

[8] *Aktionsart* is a German word meaning 'kind of action'. As pointed out by Comrie (1976: 6), although there have been numerous attempts to coin an English equivalent, none of these has become generally accepted.

[9] While boundedness is understood as involvement in the beginning and end point, process is understood as involvement of a homogenous sequence of changes.

state *saka* 'like' becomes a perfective achievement when prefixed by the prefix *za-*, can be proved by the acceptability judgments for the following clauses: [10]

(6) a. *Kolku dolgo ja sakaše?*
how-much long 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl like.3Sg.Imperf
'How long did he love her?'

b. **Za kolku vreme ja sakaše?*
for how-much time 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl like.3Sg.Imperf
*'For how much time did he love her?'

c. **Kolku dolgo ja zasaka?*
how-much long 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl come-to-like.3Sg.Aor
*'How long did he come to like her?'

d. *Za kolku vreme ja zasaka?*
for how-much time 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl come-to-like.3Sg.Aor
'How long a time did it take him to come to like her?'

3. Aspect, Telicity, and Argument Structure

An important property of the predicate phrase appears to be whether it describes a certain process whose beginning may or may not be expressed, and whether this process is characterized by a certain stage that determines its end, referred to as boundedness, culmination, termination, or *telos*[11] (*cf.* Arsenijević (2006: 2). The states and events described by the predicate phrase, i.e., its eventualities and their boundedness or telicity, i.e., the ability of the eventualities to involve an end or *telos*,[12] are influenced by affixes that have syntactic and semantic effects on the verb and relate to its participants and adjuncts.[13] In Macedonian—a Slavic language with articles—the definiteness and specificity features of the participants and adjuncts of the verb are influenced by the prefixes of the verbs.

3.1. If we examine the sentences in (7), we come to the conclusion that both perfective and imperfective verbs can take both definite and indefinite participants. There

[10] Similar tests were used by Novakov (2005) for Serbian.

[11] *Telos* is an Ancient Greek word meaning 'end'.

[12] Eventualities are telic if they involve a *telos*—a certain point in time at which they culminate, or a point of time at which the process that they involve reaches some result value.

[13] The relationship of aspect and argument structure is discussed in recent theories of event structure (*cf.* Verkuyl 1993, Krifka 1998, Ramchard 2004, Borer 2005a, 2005b, Arsenijević 2006).

is a difference only in the completion of the action: whereas the action of the perfective verbs is completed within a particular segment of time, the action of the imperfective verbs is ongoing.

(7) a. *Petre ja izede tortata *(za) tri*
Petre 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg.Aor cake+the.F.Sg for/in three
minuti.
minutes
'Petre ate the cake in three minutes.'

b. *Petre izede edna torta *(za) tri minuti.*
Petre eat.3Sg.Aor one.F.Sg cake for/in three minutes
'Petre ate a (specific) cake in three minutes.'

c. *Petre ja jadeše tortata (*za)*
Petre 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg.Imperf cake+the.F.Sg for/in
tri minuti.
three minutes
'Petre was eating the cake for three minutes.'

d. *Petre jadeše edna torta (*za) tri minuti.*
Petre eat.3Sg.Imperf one.F.Sg cake for/in three minutes
'Petre was eating a (specific) cake for three minutes.'

3.2. The situation of reflexive prefixations with the prefix *na-* is, however, complicated.

3.2.1. As shown in (8), the reflexive prefixations with the prefix *na-* and *jade* 'eat' as a base, doesn't take objects, though it can have adjuncts.

(8) a. **Petre se najade tortata za edna*
Petre Refl.Acc.Cl eat-up.3Sg.Aor cake+the.F.Sg for one.F.Sg
minuta.
minute
purported reading: 'Petre ate the cake to his heart's content for a minute.'

b. **Petre se najade edna torta za edna*
Petre Refl.Acc.Cl eat-up.3Sg.Aor one.F.Sg cake for one.F.Sg
minuta.
minute
purported reading: 'Petre ate a cake to his heart's content in a minute.'

(8) c. *Petre se najade za edna minuta.*
Petre Refl.Acc.Cl appease-hunger.3Sg.Aor for one.F.Sg minute
'Petre ate to his heart's content in a minute.'

3.2.2. The non-reflexive perfective verb *ispie* 'drink up' is like the non-reflexive perfective verb *izede* 'eat up', but the reflexive perfective verb *se napie* is different from the reflexive perfective verb *se najade*.

3.2.2.1. First, *se napie* can have an object, though not a definite one, but the meaning of *se napie* with an indefinite object is different from its meaning without an object. While in the former case *se napie* means 'get drunk', in the latter case it means 'drink some unspecifiable quantity of...'[14]

(9) a. *Petre se napi.*
Petre Refl.Acc.Cl drink-up.3Sg.Aor
'Petre got drunk.'

b. *Petre se napi vino.*
Petre Refl.Acc.Cl drink-up.3Sg.Aor wine
'Petre drank some wine.'

3.2.2.2. Neither with nor without an object, can *se napie* have a prepositionless adverbial like *edna minuta* 'for one minute'. Time adverbials with *za* 'for', such as *za edna minuta* 'in one minute' can, however, be accepted by the objectless verb, though not by the verb with an object. Thus, while (10a) is acceptable, (10b) and (10c) are not.

(10) a. *Petre se napi za edna minuta.*
Petre Refl.Acc.Cl drink-up.3Sg.Aor for one.F.Sg minute
'Petre got drunk in a minute.'

b. **Petre se napi vino za*
Petre Refl.Acc.Cl drink-up.3Sg.Aor wine+the.N.Sg for
edna minuta.
one.F.Sg minute

[14] Hana Filip (1997: 64) refers to the prefix *na* in the Czech clause (i) as a vague quantifier.

(i) *Napil se kávy.* Czech
Pref+drink.M.Sg.*l*-Part Refl.Acc.Cl coffee.Gen
'He drank some coffee.'

(10) c. **Petre se napi edna čaša vino*
Petre Refl.Acc.Cl drink-up.3Sg.Aor one.F glass wine
za edna minuta.
for one.F.Sg minute

3.2.3. Accordingly, the prefixes that introduce aspectual change modify the definiteness and specificity features of the participants of the predicate, but the modification is not uniform—it depends on the meaning of the prefix and the semantics of the verb.

3.3. As pointed above, the prefixes that introduce aspectual change of the verb also affect the telicity of the eventualities. Thus, both (11a) and (11b) have perfective verbs and are telic, though (11a) does not have a participant and can but need not have an adjunct, whereas in (11b) both an object and an adjunct are required.

(11) a. *Petre izleze (od sobata).*
Petre get-out.3Sg.Aor from room+the.F.Sg
'Petre got out (of the room).'

b. *Petre ja postavi vaznata na specijalno*
Petre 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl place.3Sg.Aor vase+the.F.Sg on special.N.Sg
mesto.
place
'Petre placed the book in a special place.'

4. Inner and Outer Prefixes

While some prefixes change the lexical meaning of the base, other prefixes are simply resultative, i.e., only mark the result of a telic enventuality. We shall refer to the former as inner prefixes, since their lexical content is part of the lexical content of the base, and to the latter as outer prefixes, since their lexical content does not change the lexical meaning of the base. As we shall see, it is often the case that the same prefix can be inner or outer.[15]

[15] The following prefixes are used in Macedonian: *v(o)-, do-, za-, iz-/is-, na-, nad-/nat-, o-, ob-/op-, od-/ot-, po-, pod-/pot-, pre-, pred-/pret-, pri-, pro-, raz/ras-, s-, so-, (s)protiv-, su-, u(s)-*.

Not all the prefixes are productive. Most productive are: *za-*, which denotes that an act is viewed as beginning; *iz-/is-*, which refers to the full completion of the act; *pro-*, which shows an intensity continuing from beginning to end of the action; *pod-/pot-*, which indicates that the action is of short duration or weak intensity.

4.1. The outer prefixes relate directly to the lexical meanings of the imperfective base verbs by reiterating some of its inherent semantic feature, as in (12), or introduce some features that do not shift the lexical meaning of the base, as in (13):

(12)

a_1	*čita* read.Impf	a_2	*pročita* read-through.Pf	
b_1	*kolne* curse.Impf	b_2	*prokolne* curse.Pf	
c_1	*piše* write.Impf	c_2	*napiše* write-up.Pf	
d_1	*seče* cut.Impf	d_2	*preseče* cut-up.Pf	

(13)

a_1	*čuva* keep.Impf	a_2	*počuva* keep-for-a-while.Pf		
b_1	*kine* tear.Impf	b_2	*skine* tear-up.Pf	b_3	*iskine* tear-up.Pf
c_1	*lepi* glue.Impf	c_2	*zalepi* glue-up.Pf	c_3	*nalepi* glue-on.Pf
d_1	*raste* grow.Impf	d_2	*poraste* grow-up.Pf	d_3	*izraste* grow-up.Pf
e_1	*spie* sleep.Impf	e_2	*naspie* sleep-one's-fill.Pf	e_3	*zaspie* fall-asleep.Pf
f_1	*vari* cook.Impf	f_2	*prevari* overcook.Pf	f_3	*dovari* cook-up.Pf

4.2. The inner prefixes radically shift the lexical meaning of the base verbs to which they are added. Examples:[16]

(14)

a_1	*bara* demand.Impf	a_2	*prebara* search.Pf
b_1	*bie* beat.Impf	b_2	*dobie* get.Pf

There are some inter-dialectal differences in usage. Thus, *sprotiv-* is used in some dialects and *protiv-* in other, and the meaning of the verb *sprotivstavi* is equivalent to that of *protivstavi*.

[16] Though many prefixes can be either inner or outer, there are prefixes, such as *iz-/is-* 'out', *od-* 'from', and *do-* 'till', which are typically outer.

(14)	b_3	*probie* break.Pf	b_4	*ubie* kill.Pf		
	c_1	*kani* invite.Impf	c_2	*nakani* resolve.Pf		
	d_1	*lee* pour.Impf	d_2	*vlee* instill.Pf		
	e_1	*nosi* carry.Impf	e_2	*odnese* take-out.Pf	e_3	*prenese* transmit.Pf
	f_1	*vleče* drag.Impf	f_2	*privleče* atract.Pf		

4.3. The prefixes originate from prepositions and show morphological correspondence with them. The lexical meaning of the prefixation may also reflect the lexical meaning of the preposition with which the prefix relates.

4.3.1. The lexical meaning of a preposition is most often reflected by outer prefixes. Thus, the prefix in (15a) reflects the lexical meaning of the preposition *na* 'on/to', while the prefix in (15b) reflects the lexical meaning of the preposition *preku* 'over':

(15) a. *nalepi*
on+glue
'glue-on'

b. *prevari*
over+cook
'overcook'

4.3.2. Both inner and outer prefixes can sometimes co-occur with adjuncts introduced by the preposition from which they were originally derived. In (16a–b) we have the inner prefixes *od-*, relating to the preposition *od* 'from', and *do-* relating to the preposition *do* 'till'; in (16c–d) we have the outer prefixes *na-*, relating to the preposition *na* 'on/to' and *po-*, relating to the preposition *po* 'along', all of them co-occurring with adjuncts with morphologically identical prepositions:

(16) a. *Petre go odnese jadenjeto*
Petre 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl carry.3Sg.Aor meal+the.N.Sg
od masata.
from table+the.F.Sg
'Petre carried the meal out from the table.'

(16) b. *Petre go dovede deteto do*
Petre 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl bring.3Sg.Aor child+the.N.Sg to

vratata.
door+the.F.Sg

'Petre brought the child to the door.'

c. *Petre go napiša odgovorot*
Petre 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl write-up.3Sg.Aor answer+the.M.Sg

na pločata.
on blackboard+the.F.Sg

'Petre wrote the answer on the blackboard.'

d. *Petre pomina po ulicata.*
Petre pass.3Sg.Aor along street+the.F.Sg

'Petre passed along the street.'

4.4. Most prefixes, whether inner or outer, occur in perfective prefixations, but that is not always the case.

4.4.1. There are perfective prefixations which pair with imperfective prefixations with the same prefix. While the bases of the perfective prefixations are perfective, the bases of the imperfective prefixations are imperfective.

(17) a_1 *frli* — throw.Pf
a_2 *otfrli* — discard.Pf
b_1 *frla* — throw.Impf
b_2 *otfrla* — discard.Impf

(18) a_1 *stavi* — put.Pf
a_2 *postavi* — place.Pf
b_1 *stava* — put.Impf
b_2 *postava* — place.Impf

(19) a_1 *pušti* — let.Pf
a_2 *ispušti* — release.Pf
a_3 *dopušti* — allow.Pf
b_1 *pušta* — let.Impf
b_2 *ispušta* — release.Impf
b_3 *dopušta* — allow.Impf

(20) a_1 *vrati* — return.Pf
a_2 *povrati* — vomit.Pf

(20) b_1 *vraḱa* b_2 *povraḱa*
return.Impf vomit.Impf

4.4.2. There are a limited number of prefixations relating to imperfective verbs with base forms that are imperfective. Examples:

(21) a_1 *stoi* a_2 *postoi*
stand.Impf exist.Impf

a_3 *sostoi* a_4 *pretstoi*
consist.Impf be-forthcoming.Impf

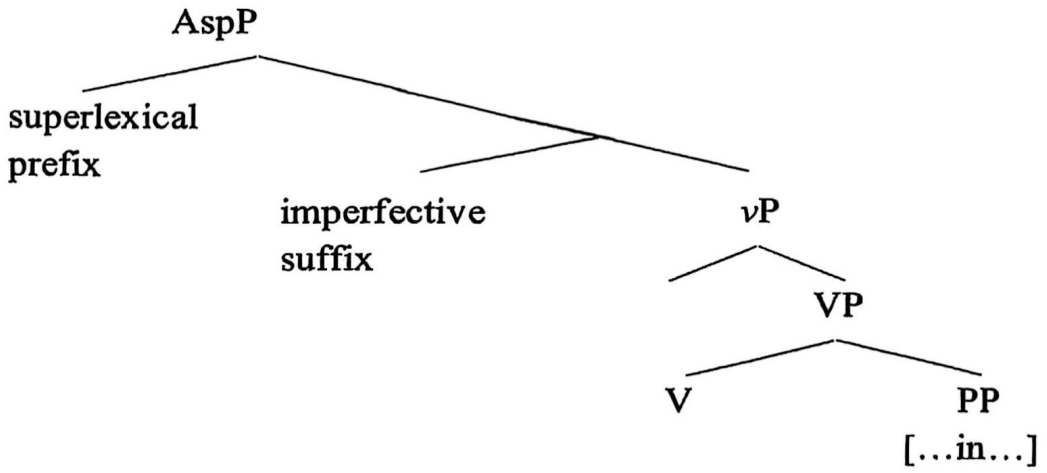
b_1 *vodi* b_2 *predvodi*
lead.Impf lead.Impf

c_1 *visi* c_2 *zavisi*
hang.Impf depend.Impf

4.5. The distinctions between the Macedonian inner and outer prefixes given above asks for some changes in the accounts of the prefixes of the Slavic languages, proposed recently by Svenonius (2004) and Di Sciulio and Slabakova (2005).

4.5.1. Calling our inner prefixes lexical and our outer prefixes super-lexical, Svenonius (2004) accounts for their asymmetry by assuming that the lexical prefixes are derived in the core of the lexical domain deep inside the verb phrase (VP), while the super-lexical prefixes are generated in the head the aspectual phrase (AspP) dominating the verb phrase, where the imperfective suffix is also derived.

(22)

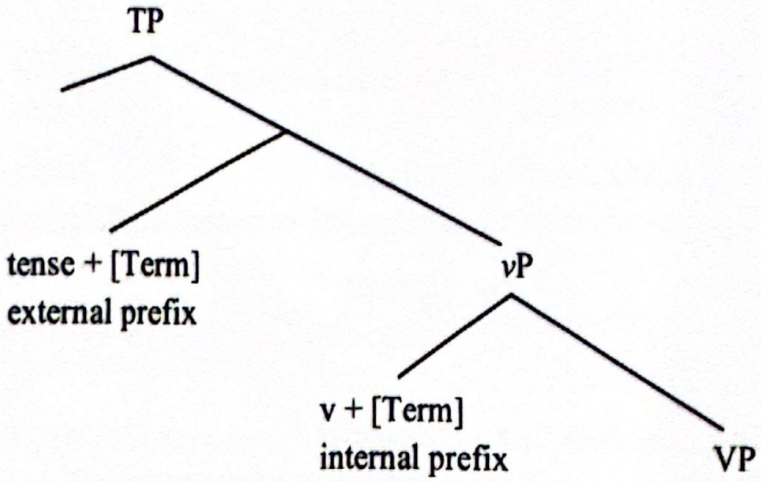


According to Svenonius (2004), in verbs in which both the prefix and the imperfective suffix occur, the scopal relations determine which meaning wins: the super-lexical prefix wins from the suffix, and the suffix wins from the internal prefix. However, in Macedonian not only superlexical (or outer) but also lexical (or inner) prefixes can

co-occur with the imperfective suffix *-uva,* whose presence makes the prefixation imperfective (*cf.* section 7 below).

4.5.2. Di Sciulio and Slabakova (2005) refer to our inner and outer prefixes as internal and external and relate them explicitly to a telic eventuality or terminativity [Term], introducing two positions in which they can be marked—one inside and one outside the VP.

(23)



In Macedonian, however, it is not the case that in all prefixations the prefixes relate to telic eventuality or terminativity. Moreover, since the prefixes have lexical meanings, they should not be derived as functional elements.

4.5.3. Whereas the inner prefixes should be generated in the most deeply embedded part of the structure, where the verb stem is generated, the outer prefixes are best positioned in an aspectual phrase dominating the verb phrase, but below the tense phrase. The imperfective suffixes, which actually make the eventuality imperfective, should also be derived in the aspectual phrase.

5. Prefixations with More than One Prefix

The prefixes can be preceded by additional prefixes of a limited set, which do not change the aspectual feature of the prefixation.

5.1. The most frequent additional prefix is *iz-/is-* 'out'.

5.1.1. Typically, *iz-/is-* 'out' precedes prefixations beginning with the prefixes *na-* 'on', *od-/ot-* 'from', *pre-* 'again', *po-* 'about', *pod-/pot-* 'under', and *raz-/ras-* 'thru'.

In the derived prefixations in which it precedes another prefix, *iz-/is-* can best be translated into English as 'over-and-over-again'. Examples:[17]

(24)	a_1	*napiše* write-up.Pf	a_2	*iznapiše* write-up-over-and-over-again.Pf
	b_1	*nakani* resolve.Pf	b_2	*iznakani* resolve-over-and-over-again.Pf
	c_1	*nalepi* glue-on.Pf	c_2	*iznalepi* glue-on-over-and-over-again.Pf
(25)	a_1	*otfrli* throw-off.Pf	a_2	*izotfrli* throw-off-over-and-over-again.Pf
	b_1	*otpiše* write-off.Pf	b_2	*izotpiše* write-off-over-and-over-again.Pf
(26)	a_1	*potpiše* sign-up.Pf	a_2	*ispotpiše* sign-over-and-over-again.Pf
	b_1	*povrati* vomit.Pf	b_2	*ispovrati* vomit-over-and-over-again.Pf
(27)	a_1	*prebara* search.Pf	a_2	*isprebara* search-over-and-over-again.Pf
	b_1	*prepiše* transcribe.Pf	b_2	*isprepiše* transcribe-over-and-over-again.Pf
	c_1	*prepravi* change.Pf	c_2	*isprepravi* change-over-and-over-again.Pf
	d_1	*preturi* overthrow.Pf	d_2	*ispreturi* overthrow-over-and-over-again.Pf
	e_1	*preseče* cut-up.Pf	e_2	*ispreseče* cut-up-over-and-over-again.Pf

[17] Most of the prefixes of the prefixations to which *iz-/is-* 'out' is added are lexical, but prefixations with non-lexical prefixes can also be preceded by it. In some cases the prefix *-iz/-is-* changes the meaning of the prefixation. Examples:

(i')	*potepa* beat-a-little-bit.Pf	(i")	*ispotepa* beat-over-and-over-again.Pf
(ii')	*pokrade* steal/rob-a-little-bit.Pf	(ii")	*ispokrade* steal/rob-over-and-over-again.Pf

(28) a_1 *razdade* — finish-distributing.Pf
a_2 *izrazdade* — finish-distributing-over-and-over-again.Pf
b_1 *razurna* — demolish.Pf
b_2 *izrazurna* — demolish-over-and-over-again.Pf

5.1.2. The prefix *na-* 'on/to', which can never occur as an additional prefix by itself, can occur between *iz-/is-* 'out' and another prefix:

(29) a_1 *potpiše* — sign-up.Pf
a_2 *ispotpiše/*napotpiše/iznapotpiše* — sign-up-over-and-over-again.Pf
b_1 *pofali* — praise.Pf
b_2 *ispofali/*napofali/iznapofali* — praise-over-and-over-again.Pf

5.2. The prefixes *pre-* 'again', *do-* 'till', *pod-/pot-* 'under', and *raz-/ras-* 'thru' also occur as additional prefixes.

5.2.1. *Pre-* 'again' often occurs to the left of the prefixes *iz-/is-* 'out', *pro-* 'over', *raz-/ras-* 'thru', and *za-* 'for', as well as to the left of prefixations initiating with the same prefix as itself. In the derived prefixations in which it precedes another prefix, *pre-* 'again' can be translated into English as 're-' or 'again'.

(30) a_1 *ispita* — examine.Pf
a_2 *preispita* — re-examine.Pf
b_1 *pročita* — read-through.Pf
b_2 *prepročita* — re-read.Pf
c_1 *raskaže* — tell.Pf
c_2 *preraskaže* — re-tell.Pf
d_1 *zaspie* — fall-asleep/lull.Pf
d_2 *prezaspie* — fall-asleep/lull-again.Pf

5.2.2. *Do-* 'till' often occurs to the left of the prefixes *na* 'on/to', *pro-* 'over', and *raz-/ras-* 'thru'. In the derived translations in which it precedes another prefix, *do-* 'till' can be translated into English as 'fully', or 'completely'.

(31) a_1 *napiše* — write-up.Pf
a_2 *donapiše* — write-up-fully.Pf
b_1 *pročita* — read-through.Pf
b_2 *dopročita* — read-through-completely.Pf

(31) c_1 *raskaže* narrate.Pf — c_2 *doraskaže* narrate-completely.Pf

5.2.3. *Pod-/pot-* 'under' can, roughly speaking, occur to the left of the same prefixes as *pre-* 'again'. In the derived prefixations where they precede another prefix *pod-/pot-* can be translated into English as 'somewhat' or 'to some extent'.

(32) a_1 *ispita* examine.Pf — a_2 *podispita* examine-to-some-extent.Pf

b_1 *napiše* write.Pf — b_2 *podnapiše* write-to-some-extent.Pf

c_1 *pročita* read-through.Pf — c_2 *potpročita* read-through-to-some-extent.Pf

d_1 *raskaže* narrate.Pf — d_2 *podraskaže* narrate-to-some-extent.Pf

e_1 *zaspie* fall-asleep/lull.Pf — e_2 *podzaspie* fall-asleep/lull-to-some-extent.Pf

5.2.4. *Raz-/ras-* 'thru' occurs as an additional prefix in a limited number of prefixations. In ($33a_2$) it occurs to the left of the prefix *pro-* 'over', while in ($34a_3$) the prefixation derived in ($33a_2$) is preceded by the prefix *iz-/is-* 'out', i.e., we have two prefixes preceding the prefix of the original prefixation:

(33) a_1 *prodade* sell.Pf — a_2 *rasprodade* sell-out-completely.Pf

a_3 *izrasprodade* sell-out-over-and-over-again.Pf

5.3. Unlike the single prefixes, which, as we have seen in the preceding section, can be inner or outer, the additional prefixes are always outer. In prefixations in which they precede inner prefixes the multiple outer prefixes are actually stacked.

6. Semelfactive Suffixes

There are some properties of eventualities, referred to as semelfactivity, which relate to limited temporal intervals (*cf.* Smith 1991). In Macedonian there is one suffix whose temporal interval takes only one point in time and thus is semelfactive: *-ne* (aorist stem *-na*).

(34) a. *Ova* *kuče* *me* *grizna.*
this.N.Sg dog 1Sg.Acc.Cl bit.3Sg.Aor
'This dog bit me.'

b. *Nemoj* *da* *padneš!*
not+can.2Sg.Imper Subjun.Mark fall.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'Don't fall down!'

c. *Da* *tropnevte* *ќe* *vi*
Subjun.Mark knock.2Pl.Pf.Imperf will.Mod.Cl 2Pl.Dat.Cl
ja *otvorevme* *vratata.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl open.1Pl.Pf.Imperf door+the.F.Sg
'Had you knocked, we would have opened the door for you.'

6.1. All semelfactive verbs have imperfective verb counterparts. Compare the use of the semelfactive verbs in ($36a_2$), ($36b_2$), and ($36c_2$), with the use of their imperfective counterparts in ($36a_1$), ($36b_1$), ($36c_1$), respectively:

(35) a_1 *Deteto* *skoka* *od* *pendžere.*
child+the.N.Sg jump.3Sg.Impf.Pres from window
'The child is jumping from the window.'

a_2 *Deteto* *saka* *da* *skokne*
child+the.N.Sg want.3Sg.Impf.Pres Subjun.Mark jump.3Sg.Pf.Pres
od *pendžere.*
from window
'The child wants to jump from the window.'

b_1 *Ti* *mnogu* *vikaš.*
you much shout.2Sg.Impf.Pres
'You are shouting very much.'

b_2 *Treba* *da* *vikneš* *za* *da*
should.3Sg.Pres Subjun.Mark shout.2Sg.Pf.Pres for Subjun.Mark
te *čueme.*
2Sg.Acc.Cl hear.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'You should shout so that we hear you.'

c_1 *Jana* *trčaše.*
Jana run.3Sg.Imperf
'Jana was running.'

(35) c_2 *Jana trčna do prodavnica.*
Jana run.3Sg.Pf to store
'Jana ran quickly to the store.'

7. Suffixes which Assign Unlimited Number of Punctual Temporal Intervals

Macedonian has four suffixes which assign an unlimited number of punctual temporal intervals to the eventualities: *-ka, -oli, -ori*, and *-oti.*[18]

7.1. Whereas the intervals made by *-ka, -oli*, and *-ori* are of low intensity, those made by *-oti* are of high intensity:

(36) a. *Petre šetka.*
Petre walk-around.3Sg.Impf.Pres
'Petre walks around.'

b. *Potokot šumoli.*
brook+the.M.Sg rumble.3Sg.Impf.Pres
'The brook is rumbling.'

c. *Stomakot mi krkori.*
stomach+the.M.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl make-sounds.3Sg.Impf.Pres
'My stomach is making sounds.'

d. *Srceto mi tropoteše.*
heart+the.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl pound.3Sg.Imperf
'My heart was pounding.'

7.2. Verbs with the low intensity imperfective suffix *-ka* are often aspectual counterparts of perfective semelfactive verbs:

(37) a_1 *Vratata krckaše.*
door+the.F.Sg creak.3Sg.Imperf
'The door was creaking.'

a_2 *Vratata krcna.*
door+the.F.Sg crackle.3Sg.Aor
'The door crackled.'

[18] These suffixes are actually onomatopoeic.

(37) b_1 *Jana gi prskaše zavesite.*
Jana 3Pl.Acc.Cl sprinkle.3Sg.Imperf curtains+the.Pl
'Jana was sprinkling the curtains.'

b_2 *Jana me prsna.*
Jana 1Sg.Acc.Cl sprinkle.3Sg.Aor
'Jana sprinkled me.'

c_1 *Toj me pecka.*
he 1Sg.Acc.Cl tease.3Sg.Impf.Pres
'He is teasing me.'

c_2 *Toj me pecna.*
he 1Sg.Acc.Cl tease.3Sg.Aor
'He teased me.'

d_1 *Deteto trepkaše.*
child+the.N.Sg blink.3Sg.Impf
'The child was blinking.'

d_2 *Deteto trepna.*
child+the.N.Sg blink.3Sg.Pf
'The child blinked.'

7.3. Both the verbs with suffixes that assign an unlimited number of punctual temporal intervals and the semelfactive suffixes contrast with imperfective verbs without suffixes, so that we have triples and quadruples like the following ones:

(38)

a_1	*čita* read.Impf	a_2	*čitne* read-a-little.Pf	a_3	*čitka* read-a-little.Impf
b_1	*pee* sing.Impf	b_2	*%pevne* sing-a-little.Pf	b_3	*%pevka* sing-a-little.Impf
c_1	*pie* drink.Impf	c_2	*pivne* drink-a-little.Pf	c_3	*%pivka* drink-a-little.Impf
d_1	*pliva* swim.Impf	d_2	*%plivne* swim-a-little.Pf	d_3	*%plivka* swim-a-little.Impf
e_1	*tropa* knock.Impf	e_2	*tropne* knock-a-little.Pf	e_3	*tropka* knock-a-little.Impf
e_4	*tropoti* pound.Impf				

8. The Imperfective Suffix *-uva* and Iterativity

Many perfective verbs, including the semelfactive ones, can be imperfectivized by the suffix *-uva*, which signals a temporally bounded stative eventuality.[19]

8.1. The Macedonian semelfactive perfective verbs followed by the imperfective suffix *-uva* are, as a rule, iterative.

8.1.1. We have a host of semelfactive perfective verbs which relate to imperfective base verbs, as well as to imperfective iterative suffixatons in which the suffix *-uva* follows a semelfactive suffix. Examples:

(39)	a_1	*leta* fly.Impf	a_2	*letne* fly-up.Pf	a_3	*letnuva* fly-up.Impf
	b_1	*leži* lie.Impf	b_2	*legne* lie-down.Pf	b_3	*legnuva* lie-down.Impf
	c_1	*paǵa* fall.Impf	c_2	*padne* fall-down.Pf	c_3	*padnuva* fall-down.Impf
	d_1	*sedi* sit.Impf	d_2	*sedne* sit-down.Pf	d_3	*sednuva* sit-down.Impf
	e_1	*tropa* nock.Impf	e_2	*tropne* nock-up.Pf	e_3	*tropnuva* nock-up.Impf
	f_1	*vika* shout.Impf	f_2	*vikne* shout-up.Pf	f_3	*viknuva* shout-up.Impf

8.1.2. Suffixations in which the suffix *-uva* follows a semelfactive suffix, often occur in clauses with adjuncts expressing punctual temporal intervals. Compare the clause with imperfective verbs without a semelfactive and *-uva* suffix to the clause with such suffixes in (40):

(40)	a_1	*Petre*	*pie*	*rakija.*
		Petre	drink.3Sg.Impf.Pres	brandy
		'Petre is drinking brandy.'		

[19] As noticed by Borer (2005b), the Slavic suffix *-va*, corresponds to the English progressive tense markers.

(40) a_2 *Petre* *pivnuva* *po* *nekoja* *čaška*
Petre drink-a-little.3Sg.Impf.Pres per some.F.Sg glass.Dimin
rakija.
brandy

'Petre sips a glass or two of brandy now and then.'

b_1 *Saatot* *obično* *čukaše* *vo* *12.*
clock+the.M.Sg usually tick.3Sg.Imperf at twelve

'The clock was usually ticking at twelve.'

b_2 *Saatot* *čuknuvaše* *odvreme-* *navreme.*
clock+the.M.Sg tick-a-little.3Sg.Imperf from time to time

'The clock ticked from time to time.'

8.2. Many non-semelfactive perfective prefixations relating to imperfective verbs with base forms also relate to iterative imperfective prefixations with the suffix *-uva*. In this case, however, the iterativity status of the prefixation depends on the role of the prefix in the verb.

8.2.1. When the prefix does not shift the lexical meaning of the base, the *-uva* prefixations can be iterative. In (41) we have triples with such prefixations:

(41)

a_1	*čita*	a_2	*pročita*	a_3	*pročituva*
	read.Impf		read-through.Pf		read-through.Impf
b_1	*lepi*	b_2	*zalepi*	b_3	*zalepuva*
	glue.Impf		glue-on.Pf		glue-on.Impf
c_1	*piše*	c_2	*napiše*	c_3	*napišuva*
	write.Impf		write-down.Pf		write-down.Impf
d_1	*raste*	d_2	*izraste*	d_3	*izrastuva*
	grow.Impf		grow-up.Pf		grow-up.Impf
e_1	*vari*	e_2	*dovari*	e_3	*dovaruva*
	cook.Impf		cook-up.Pf		cook-up.Impf

8.2.2. When the prefix shifts the lexical meaning of the base, the *-uva* prefixation is not necessarily iterative. In (42) we have *-uva* imperfective prefixations whose meanings differ drastically from that of the non-prefixed base and agree with the meaning of the perfective prefixation.

(42)

a_1	*bara*	a_2	*prebara*	a_3	*prebaruva*
	demand.Impf		search.Pf		search.Impf

(42)	b_1	*kani* invite.Impf	b_2	*nakani* resolve.Pf	b_3	*nakanuva* resolve.Impf
	c_1	*tepa* beat.Impf	c_2	*otepa* murder.Pf	c_3	*otepuva* murder.Impf

8.3. Verbs derived from other word classes—from nouns, adjectives or adverbs—are often derived with the imperfective suffix *-uva.*[20] Examples:

(43)	a.	*čuvstvuva* feel.Impf	(derived from the noun *čuvstvo* 'feeling')
	b.	*miluva* caress.Impf	(derived from the adjecrtive *mil* 'dear')
	c.	*veruva* believe.Impf	(derived from the noun *vera* 'belief')
	d.	*nazaduva* 'regress.Impf'	(derived from the adverb *nazad* 'back')

8.4. The suffix *-uva* can be added to prefixations that do not correspond to equivalent non-prefixed verbs, and thus act as non-iterative imperfective counterparts to the prefixed perfective verbs.[21] Examples:

(44)	a_1	**jadi*	a_2	*dojadi* pester.Pf	a_3	*dojaduva* pester.Impf
	b_1	**mali*	b_2	*premali* make-small.Pf	b_3	*premaluva* make-small.Impf

[20] The suffix *-uva* can even be added to complex expressions. Examples:

(i')	**belodeni*	(i")	*obelodeni* reveal.Pf		(i'")	*obelodenuva* reveal.Impf
	derived from:	*bel* white	+	*den* day		
(ii')	**čudovidi*	(ii")	*včudovidi* astonish.Pf		(ii'")	*včudovidiuva* astonish.Impf
	derived from:	*vidi* see	+	*čudo* wonder		

[21] Many of these prefixations are derived from nouns or adjectives. Thus, the prefixations in (44a) are derived from the noun *jad* 'anguish', the prefixations in (44b) from the adjective *mal* 'small', the prefixations in (44c) from the noun *nemir* 'unrest', and the prefixation in (44e) from the noun *razum* 'reason'.

(44)	c_1	**nemiri*	c_2	*voznemiri* worry.Pf	c_3	*voznemiruva* worry.Impf
	d_1	**nese*	d_2	*vnese* carry-into.Pf	d_3	*vnesuva* carry-into.Impf
	e_1	**razumi*	e_2	*vrazumi* give-understanding.Pf		
	e_3	*vrazumuva* give-understanding.Impf				
	f_1	**tori*	f_2	*stori* do.Pf	f_3	*storuva* do.Impf

8.5. *-Uva* can also be added (a) to prefixations that do not occur without this suffix (*cf.* 45), or (b) to non-prefixed perfective verbs (*cf.* 46).[22] In both of these cases the prefixations are non-iterative:

(45)	a_1	*ide* go.Impf	a_2	**podide*	a_3	*podiduva* approach.Impf

(46)	a_1	*kaže* say.Pf	a_2	*kažuva* say.Impf
	b_1	*kupi* buy.Pf	b_2	*kupuva* buy.Impf
	c_1	*vidi* see.Pf	c_2	*viduva* see.Impf
	d_1	*stane* get-up.Pf	d_2	*stanuva* get-up.Impf
	e_1	*vrze* tie.Pf	e_2	*vrzuva* tie.Impf

8.6. The suffix *-uva* has also been added to non-prefixed imperfective verbs which are now used in colloquial speech:

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[22] The initial vowel of the suffix *-uva* is deleted in some words:

(i')	*ubi* kill.Pf	(i")	*ubiva* kill.Impf
(ii')	*sozdade* create.Pf	(ii")	*sozdava* create.Impf

(47) a_1 *%piše* write.Impf a_2 *pišuva* write.Impf

b_1 *%zbori* speak.Impf b_2 *zboruva* speak.Impf

8.7. In his analysis of the Serbo-Croatian affixes in the telic template, Arsenijević (2006: 203–15) argues that, while the perfectivity of a prefixation with one prefix can be neutralized by the Serbo-Croatian imperfective suffix *-va*, the additional prefix makes the prefixation perfective irrespective of the presence of the imperfective suffix. That is, however, not the case with the Macedonian counterpart of *-va*.

8.7.1. The Macedonian imperfective suffix *-uva*, which morphologically relates to the Serbo-Croatian suffix *-va*, does not co-occur with all the prefixes that can precede other prefixes, but whenever it does so, the verb is, as a rule, imperfective.

8.7.1.1. While occurring in (48a), where we have only one prefix—*od-* 'from', *-uva* cannot occur in (48b), which differs from (48a) only by having an additional prefix, *iz-*—a prefix that, as shown in (48c), can co-occur with *od-* when the prefixation does not include the imperfective suffix *-uva*:

(48) a. *Jovan ja otturkuvaše kolicata.*
Jovan 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl push-away.3Sg.Imperf cart+the.F.Sg
'Jovan was pushing away the cart.'

b. **Jovan ja izotturkuvaše*
Jovan 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl push-away-again-and-again.3Sg.Imperf
kolicata.
cart+the.F.Sg

c. *Jovan ja izotturka*
Jovan 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl push-away-again-and-again.3Sg.Aor
kolicata.
cart+the.F.Sg
'Jovan pushed away the cart again and again.'

8.7.1.2. In both ($49a_1$), where the verb is prefixed with the prefix *pro-* 'over' and ($49a_2$), where *pro-* is preceded by the prefix *pre-* 'again', and in both ($49b_1$) where the verb is prefixed with the prefix *po-* 'along' and ($49b_2$) where *po-* is preceded by the prefix *do-* 'till', the suffix *-uva* is completely acceptable:

(49) a_1 *Jovan gi pročituva pesnite.*
Jovan 3Pl.Acc.Cl read-through.3Sg.Impf.Pres poems+the.Pl
'Jovan is reading the poems through.'

a_2 *Jovan gi prepročituva pesnite.*
Jovan 3Pl.Acc.Cl re-read.3Sg.Impf.Pres poems+the.Pl
'Jovan is rereading the poems.'

b_1 *Jovan go popolnuvaše formularot.*
Jovan 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl fill-in.3Sg.Imperf form+the.Pl
'Jovan was filling in the form.'

b_2 *Jovan go dopopolnuvaše formularot.*
Jovan 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl fill-in-additionally.3Sg.Imperf form+the.M.Sg
'Jovan was completing the filling of the form.'

8.7.2. The suffix *-uva* is present in the imperfective present tense forms and in the imperfective past tense forms which are derived from them, irrespective of whether the verbs are not prefixed, as in (50), or are prefixed, as in (51):

(50) a_1 *Jovan gi pišuva pesnite.*
Jovan 3Pl.Acc.Cl write.3Sg.Impf.Pres poem+the.Pl
'Jovan is writing the poems.'

a_2 *Jovan ni go kažuva toa.*
Jovan 1Pl.Acc.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl tell.3Sg.Impf.Pres that
'Jovan is telling us that.'

b_1 *Jovan gi pišuvaše pesnite.*
Jovan 3Pl.Acc.Cl write.3Sg.Imperf poems+the.Pl
'Jovan was writing the poems.'

b_2 *Jovan ni go kažuvaše toa.*
Jovan 1Pl.Acc.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl tell.Imperf that
'Jovan was telling us that.'

(51) a_1 *Jovan gi prepišuva pesnite.*
Jovan 3Pl.Acc.Cl copy.3Sg.Impf.Pres poems+the.Pl
'Jovan is copying the poems.'

(51) a_2 *Jovan* *ni* *go* *pokažuva* *toa.*
Jovan 1Pl.Acc.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl show.3Sg.Impf.Pres that
'Jovan is showing us that.'

b_1 *Jovan* *gi* *prepišuvaše* *pesnite.*
Jovan 3Pl.Acc.Cl copy.3Sg.Imperf poems+the.Pl
'Jovan was copying the poems.'

b_2 *Jovan* *ni* *go* *pokažuvaše* *toa.*
Jovan 1Pl.Acc.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl show.3Sg.Imperf that
'Jovan was showing us that.'

Chapter 11

Simple and Compound Tenses

1. From Proto-Slavic to Macedonian

In Macedonian, the exponents of the category of tense—a deictic category that locates the eventualities described in a clause in relation to speech time or other points of time—differ not only from the exponents of the west and east Slavic languages, whose tense systems have changed radically from the system of Proto-Slavic, but also from those of the other south Slavic languages, most of which inherited many of the features of Proto-Slavic.

1.1. It is commonly assumed that tense did not exist as a separate grammatical category in Early Proto-Indo-European. There were no independent verbal affixes for marking tense, and the verbs were specified only for aspect (*cf.* Lehmann 1974: 139–41, 186). Explicit expression of tense was a later innovation. It is argued that the earliest method of expressing temporal relations was based on the opposition between 'now-here' and 'not-now-here', which led to the development of the present, the aorist and the perfect tenses (*cf.* Schields 1992). The present tense rendered uncompleted actions, the aorist referred to an action that was completed at the moment of speech, whereas the perfect emphasized the result of an event, linking the past to the moment of speaking. Later on, the pluperfect—a tense used to refer to actions that took place before a narrated event, and the imperfect—a tense that had an aspectual flavor in the sense that it was used to describe long-lasting or repetitive actions that were not completed, emerged.

1.2. Proto-Slavic inherited the Proto-Indo-European tenses, but radically extended aspectual distinctions. The aorist, which in Proto-Indo-European did not imply specific reference to the duration of an event or to the stretch of time between the event and the moment of speaking, in Late Proto-Slavic started to be used for denoting momentaneous, completed events. At the same time, the perfect and pluperfect, which in Proto-Indo-European were morphologically marked simple tenses, in Late Proto-Slavic gave way to compound tenses with verbal adjectives ending in **-lo* reanalyzed as participles and added to 'be'-auxiliaries (*cf.* Migdalski 2006: 13–14).

1.3. In the west and east Slavic languages (with the exception of Upper Sorbian) the aspectual past tenses have completely disappeared and past events are characterized by the present perfect—in east Slavic without auxiliaries and in west Slavic ac-

companied by impoverished auxiliaries. The south Slavic languages have, however, retained the aspectual simple past tenses, albeit to different degrees. Extending Sedláček's (1958: 68–69) analysis of the relationship of the aorist and the perfect on the Balkans, Asenova (2002: 269–74) establishes four zones with respect to the spread of the compound perfect in the area and argues that Serbo-Croatian belongs to the northern zone, where the perfect has almost ousted out the use of the other past tenses, the southeastern Serbian and some eastern Bulgarian dialects belong to a "transitory" zone, where the perfect prevails, though the aorist is still in use, the majority of the Bulgarian dialects and the southeastern and northern Macedonian dialects belong to the central zone, where the perfect is as much used as the simple past tenses, whereas the southern Macedonian dialects belong to the southern zone, in which the perfect is sparingly used. Speaking in general, the perfect is (almost) the only past tense in the very north of the peninsula and is (almost) non-existent in its southernmost fringes. The southern Macedonian dialects do, however, use the forms of the perfect as frequently as those of the compound past tense(s), though their uses differ from those of the perfect in Bulgarian.

1.4. In the northern and southeastern Macedonian dialects, the forms of the *l*-participle, accompanied by 'be' auxiliaries, have kept the original function of the perfect as an expression of the result of an event, though they are also used as exponents of evidentiality—a modal category that Friedman (2004: 103) describes as a category that expresses the subjective relationship of the participants in the speech event to the narrated event.[1] As one moves westwards in the Macedonian-speaking territory, however, the use of the exponents of the common Slavic 'be' perfect become increasingly

[1] Evidentiality is a category grammaticalized in a number of Balkan languages—in Macedonian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Megleno-Romanian, in particular. In Macedonian grammars, this category is labeled *prekažanost* 'retelling', Bulgarian grammars make lists of paradigms expressing "unwitnessed events" (*cf.* BAN 1982–83; Bojadžiev, Kucarov, Penčev 1999), whereas Albanian grammars name a series of paradigmatic sets that have developed from the perfect, but have distinct usage, *habitore*, from *habi* 'surprise' (*cf.* Newmark, Hubbard and Prifti 1982). However, the terms "retelling" and "unwitnessed" do not cover all the uses that the *l*-participles accompanied by 'be' auxiliaries have in the category in question in Macedonian or Bulgarian, just as "surprise" is not the only meaning that the Albanian *habitore* paradigms impart. Following Friedman (2004: 103), I use the term "evidentiality". Friedman (2004: 103–04) points out that Jacobsen (1986: 5) describes the category in question as a category involving the subjective relationship of the participants in the speech event to the narrated event, thus reflecting (without reference) Aronson's (1977) notional meanings of "status". The Balkan evidentials most probably developed under the influence of Turkish. "The geographic distribution of evidentiality in Balkan Slavic argues for a socio-linguistically based explanation for the spread of the phenomenon... regions with heavy concentrations of Turkish-speakers in urban centers serving as sources of innovation" (*cf.* Friedman 2004: 124–25). (Note that Turkish is part of a larger Turkic complex in which evidential meaning is always grammatically encoded, utilizing different material in different languages.)

restricted to marking the new modal category. In the southwestern Macedonian dialects, which have been in close contact with Modern Greek, Albanian, and Aromanian, two new types of perfects have developed (and spread in other dialects, including the standard dialect)—one with forms of the 'have' auxiliary, plus invariable past participles of transitive or intransitive verbs (*cf.* section 7 below), and another with forms of the 'be' auxiliary, plus inflecting passive participles of predominately intransitive verbs (*cf.* section 8 below); while the constructions of the common Slavic perfect—forms of the 'be' auxiliary plus forms of the *l*-participle, have become exponents of the above mentioned modal category (*cf.* section 10 below). Constructions with 'have' auxiliaries, plus participles of transitive verbs, are used as exponents of the perfect of result, in which a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation (*cf.* Comrie 1976: 56), or as exponents of the experiential perfect, which indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past, leading up to the present (*cf.* Comrie 1976: 38). Constructions with 'have' auxiliaries, plus inflecting participles of intransitive verbs, are used as exponents of the experiential perfect or the perfect of result of intransitive verbs, while constructions with 'be' auxiliaries, plus inflecting passive participles (of mainly intransitive verbs), are used as exponents of the perfect of result of intransitive verbs. [2]

1.5. In Macedonian in general, the opposition between the aorist and the imperfect has been transformed into an aspectual distinction through an elimination of tense forms when their most expected meaning conflicted with their aspect. [3]

1.5.1. The aorist forms of the imperfect are very sparingly used—mostly in the southwestern dialects, where they exist on a par with imperfective imperfect forms, as in (1d):

(1) a. *%I jas piv od vinoto.*
and I drink.3Sg.Impf.Aor from wine+the.N.Sg
'I drank from the wine, too.'

b. *%Koj tka včera?*
who weave.3Sg.Impf.Aor yesterday
'Who was weaving yesterday?'

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[2] Note that in the southwestern Macedonian dialects of Bitola and Resen and in the Macedonian dialects in Kostur (Kastoria) in northern Greece and Korča (Korçë) in southern Albania there are no 'be' perfects.

[3] By comparing Sanskrit and Greek, Darden (2001) has come to the conclusion that Macedonian has developed a system which in the use of aspect in the indicative is essentially identical to the Indo-European system reconstructed before the discovery of Hittite.

(1) c. *%Go* *miv,* *ama* *ne* *go*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl wash.1Sg.Impf.Aor but not 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

izmiv.
wash.3Sg.Pf.Aor

'I was washing it but did not wash it clean.'

d. *%Bega* *cel* *den* *ama* *se*
run.3Sg.Impf.Aor whole.M.Sg day but Acc.Refl.Cl

obdziraše *nazad...*
look.3Sg.Impf.Imperf backward

'He ran all day long, but kept looking back...'

1.5.2. In standard Macedonian, the imperfective aorist is used only in certain set expressions, such as the one in (2):

(2) *Vika,* *vika,* *dovika.*
shout.3Sg.Impf.Aor shout.3Sg.Impf.Aor stop-shouting.3Sg.Perf.Aor

'(S)he shouted, shouted, and finally stopped shouting.'

1.5.3. Some verbs with *i* and *e* bases have kept their original imperfect and aorist forms. I am listing below the imperfect and aorist paradigms of the verbs *jade* 'eat' and *bere* 'gather'.[4]

Table 1. Imperfect and Aorist Forms of *Jade* 'Eat' and *Bere* 'Gather'

***jade* 'eat'**

	Imperfect		Aorist	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*jadev*	*jadevme*	*jadov*	*jadovme*
2nd	*jadeše*	*jadevte*	*jade*	*jadovte*
3rd	*jadeše*	*jadea*	*jade*	*jadoa*

[4] Note that the citation form of the Macedonian lexical verbs is the third person singular present tense form.

***bere* 'gather'**

	Imperfect		Aorist	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*berev*	*berevme*	*brav*	*bravme*
2nd	*bereše*	*berevte*	*bra*	*bravte*
3rd	*bereše*	*berea*	*bra*	*braa*

1.5.4. Some aorist forms have been adapted to fit the aspectual distinction. Thus, instead of the old aorist form *pisav* 'write.1Sg.Aor', derived from an aorist base, in standard Macedonian we have *pišav* 'write.1Sg.Aor', derived from a present base, and in aspectual opposition with the derived imperfect form *pišuvav* 'write.-1Sg.Imperf'.[5]

1.6. The Proto-Slavic conflict between the temporal and aspectual distinctions resulting from the perfective: imperfective oppositions in the aorist and the imperfect is in Macedonian resolved by the rare usage of the imperfective aorist forms and the specific usage of the perfective imperfect forms. The Proto-Slavic perfect is, however, in Macedonian represented by different auxiliary-plus-participle combinations, so that we actually have two systems of compound tenses, to which we may refer as "A system" and "B system". The A system has 'be' present and past perfects with inflecting (for gender and number) *l*-participles, which express resultativeness and experience, as well as evidentiality. The B system has (a) 'be' present and past perfects with inflecting (for gender and number) *l*-participles, which are used exclusively to express evidentiality, (b) 'have' present and past perfects with invariable past participles, used in the expression of experience for any verb and the expression of resultativeness for transitive and unergative verbs, and (c) 'be' perfects with inflecting passive participles, used in the expression of resultativeness for unaccusative verbs (*cf.* Tomić 1991). While, in the southwestern dialects of Ohrid and Struga only the B system operates, and in the eastern Macedonian dialects only the A system is used, in most western dialects, as well as in standard Macedonian, the two systems intersect.[6]

2. Forms and Usage of the Present Tense

The present tense is a simple tense that most often refers to eventualities contemporaneous with the speech event.

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[5] Note that the form *pisav* is still used in some dialects, e.g., in the dialect of Ohrid.

[6] Note that in the southwestern Macedonian dialects of Bitola and Resen and in the Macedonian dialects in Kostur (Kastoria) in northern Greece and Korča (Korçë) in southern Albania, the category of evidentiality is not grammticalized.

2.1. The forms of the Macedonian present tense depend on the final phoneme of the base of the verb, which may be *-a, -i,* or *-e.*[7]

2.1.1. In all the present tense sets of forms, the person/number markers added to the base are the same—*-am* for 1st person singular, *-š* for 2nd person singular, ∅ for 3rd person singular, *-me* for 1st person plural, *-te* for 2nd person plural, and *-at* for 3rd person plural. In the 1st person singular forms, all the final phonemes of the base are dropped,[8] in the 2nd person singular and 1st and 2nd person plural forms, they are all kept, while in the 3rd person plural forms, the final phonemes of the bases ending on the vowel *-a* are kept, and those of the bases ending on the vowels *-i* or *-e* are dropped.[9]

2.1.2. The present tense forms of prefixed perfective verbs differ from the forms of their imperfective counterparts only in having a prefix.[10] The present tense forms of the prefixed perfective verbs *pročita* 'read through', *zapali* 'kindle', *prebroi* 'count out', *sprede* 'spin up', *ispie* 'drink up', and their imperfective counterparts *čita* 'read', *pali* 'burn', *broi* 'count', *prede* 'spin', and *pie* 'drink' are given in Table 2.

Table 2. Present Tense Forms of Prefixed Perfective Verbs and Their Imperfective Counterparts

Prefixed Perfective Verbs					
	pročita	*zapali*	*prebroi*	*sprede*	*ispie*
1Sg	*pročitam*	*zapalam*	*prebrojam*	*spredam*	*ispijam*
2Sg	*pročitaš*	*zapališ*	*prebroiš*	*spredeš*	*ispieš*
3Sg	*pročita*	*zapali*	*prebroi*	*sprede*	*ispie*
1Pl	*pročitame*	*zapalime*	*prebroime*	*spredeme*	*ispieme*
2Pl	*pročitate*	*zapalite*	*prebroite*	*spredete*	*ispiete*
3Pl	*pročitaat*	*zapalat*	*prebrojat*	*spredat*	*ispijat*

[7] With non-affixed verbs the base is equivalent to the third person singular present tense form.

[8] The verb *znae* 'know' drops both of its vowels and the first person singular present tense form is *znam*, rather than *znaam*.

[9] When the first person singular present tense person/number marker and the third person plural one are added to bases in which the phoneme *e* follows the phonemes *i, o*, or *u*, *e* is preceded by the semi-vowel *j*.

[10] Since the base does not change.

Imperfective Counterparts of the Prefixed Perfective Verbs

	čita	*pali*	*broi*	*prede*	*pie*
1Sg	*čitam*	*palam*	*brojam*	*predam*	*pijam*
2Sg	*čitaš*	*pališ*	*broiš*	*predeš*	*pieš*
3Sg	*čita*	*pali*	*broi*	*prede*	*pie*
1Pl	*čitame*	*palime*	*broime*	*predeme*	*pieme*
2Pl	*čitate*	*palite*	*broite*	*predete*	*piete*
Pl	*čitaat*	*palat*	*brojat*	*predat*	*pijat*

2.1.3. The present tense forms of suffixed imperfective verbs differ significantly from the present tense forms of the perfective verbs with which they pair.[11] The present tense forms of the suffixed imperfective verbs *gošteva* 'treat', *doaġa* come', *dava* 'give', *umira* 'die', and *uriva* 'pull-down', and their perfective counterparts *gosti* 'treat', *dojde* 'come', *dade* 'give', *umre* 'die', and *urne* 'pull-down' are given in Table 3:

Table 3. Present Tense Forms of Suffixed Imperfective Verbs and Their Perfective Counterparts

Suffixed Imperfective Verbs

	gošteva	*doaġa*	*dava*	*umira*	*uriva*
1Sg	*goštevam*	*doaġam*	*davam*	*umiram*	*urivam*
2Sg	*goštevaš*	*doaġaš*	*davaš*	*umiraš*	*urivaš*
3Sg	*gošteva*	*doaġa*	*dava*	*umira*	*uriva*
1Pl	*goštevame*	*doaġame*	*davame*	*umirame*	*urivame*
2Pl	*goštevate*	*doaġate*	*davate*	*umirate*	*urivate*
3Pl	*goštevaat*	*doaġaat*	*davaat*	*umiraat*	*urivaat*

Perfective Counterparts of the Suffixed Imperfective Verbs

	gosti	*dojde*	*dade*	*umre*	*urne*
1Sg	*gostam*	*dojdam*	*dadam*	*umram*	*urnam*
2Sg	*gostiš*	*dojdeš*	*dadeš*	*umreš*	*urneš*
3Sg	*gosti*	*dojde*	*dade*	*umre*	*urne*
1Pl	*gostime*	*dojdeme*	*dademe*	*umreme*	*urneme*
2Pl	*gostite*	*dojdete*	*dadete*	*umrete*	*urnete*
3Pl	*gostat*	*dojdat*	*dadat*	*umrat*	*urnat*

[11] Since the base changes.

2.2. In the indicative present tense, only imperfective verbs occur; their perfective equivalents being used in mood structures and in structures expressing futurity (which historically relate to mood structures):[12]

(3) a_1 *Jana pie čaj.*
Jana drink.3Sg.Impf.Pres tea
'Jana drinks/is drinking tea.'

a_2 *Jana ne može da go*
Jana not can.3Sg.Impf.Pres Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
ispie čajot.
drink-up.3Sg.Pf.Pres tea+the.M.Sg
'Jana cannot drink up the tea.'

b_1 *Doaǵa ovde sekoj den.*
come.3Sg.Impf.Pres here every.M.Sg day
'(S)he comes here every day.'

b_2 *Saka da dojde.*
want.3Sg.Impf.Pres Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he wants to come.'

2.3. The indicative present tense forms usually refer to eventualities that are (a) in progress, (b) habitually performed, or (c) generally valid, as well as (d) in generic clauses:

(4) a. *Jana tokmu sega zboruva so sestra ti.*
Jana exactly now talk.3Sg.Impf.Pres with sister 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'Jana is exactly now talking to your sister.'

b. *Često zboruvam so sestra ti.*
often talk.1Sg.Impf.Pres with sister 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'I often talk to your sister.'

c. *Tie znaat angliski.*
they know.3Pl.Impf.Pres English
'They know English.'

[12] *Cf.* Chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures".

(4) d. *Zemjata* *se* *vrti* *okolu*
earth+the.F.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl revolve .3Pl.Impf.Pres around

sonceto.
sun.the.N.Sg

'The earth revolves around the sun.'

2.4. The indicative present tense forms may, however, involve eventualities that (a) have been in progress for some time, (b) will actually take place in the future, or (c) have taken place in the past:[13]

(5) a. *Nekolku* *meseci* *veḱe* *ne* *zboruvaš* *so*
several months already not speak.2Sg.Impf.Pres with

nea.
her.Acc

'You haven't been talking to her for several months already.'

b. *Utre* *ja* *mažam* *ḱerka* *mi.*
tomorrow 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl marry.1Sg.Impf.Pres daughter 1Sg.Dat.Cl

'My daughter is getting married tomorrow.' (lit. 'I am marrying off my daughter tomorrow.')

c. *Znaev* *togaš* *deka* *toj* *go*
know.1Sg.Imperf then that he 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

rešava *problemot.*
solve.1Sg.Impf.Pres problem+the.M.Sg

'I knew then that he was solving the problem.'

2.5. Related to the usage of the present tense forms for the expression of future actions is the usage of these forms for the expression of readiness and the possibility to accomplish something. The following examples are from Koneski (1967: 415):

[13] In the last case, this occurs in complex clauses in which the action of the verb in the dependent clause happens at the same time as the action in the main clause.

(6) a. *Ni jas kako tebe naoǵam, ni ti*
neither I like you.Acc find.1Sg.Impf.Pres neither you
kako mene naoǵaš.
like me find.2Sg.Impf.Pres
'Neither can I find somebody like you, nor can you find somebody like me.'

b. *Kuzmana ne go izvaǵam.*
Kuzman.Acc not 3Sg.like take-out.1Sg.Impf.Pres
'I cannot take Kuzman out (of the prison).'

2.6. The Imperfective present tense forms (with the meaning of both aspects) can be used in so called 'historical present expressions', which refer to (and make more vivid) past events. The following examples are from Koneski (1967: 414):

(7) a. *Stanaa od balkonot i*
get-up.3Pl.Pf.Aor from balcony+the.M.Sg and
sleguvaat po skalite.
descend.3Pl.Impf.Pres along stairs+the.Pl
'They got up from the balcony and were descending the stairs.'

b. *Ide so kamioni vojska i gi*
come.3Sg.Impf.Pres with trucks army and 3Pl.Acc.Cl
opkoluva.
surround.3Sg.Impf.Pres
'An army came with trucks and surrounded them.'

3. Forms and Usage of the Simple Past Tenses

Both imperfective and perfective verbs have simple past tenses. While imperfective verbs predominantly use imperfect tense morphology,[14] perfective verbs can have either aorist or imperfect forms, though the latter are used only in mood structures.

3.1. The person/number markers of the imperfect differ from those of the aorist only in the 2nd and 3rd person singular. The person/number markers of the imperfect are *-v* for 1st person singular, *-še* for 2nd and 3rd person singular, *-vme* for 1st person plural, *-vte* for 2nd person plural, and *-a* for 3rd person plural, while the person/num-

[14] Imperfective verbs may have aorist forms, but, as mentioned above, they are very sparingly used.

ber markers of the aorist are *-v* for 1st person singular, ∅ for 2nd and 3rd person singular, *-vme* for 1st person plural, *-vte* for 2nd person plural, and *-a* for 3rd person plural.

3.1.2. In verbs whose bases end on the vowel *-a*, the simple past tense person/number markers do not change the base. The forms of the imperfect of the imperfective verb *čita* 'read', and the forms of the imperfect and the aorist of the perfective verb *pročita* 'read through' are given in Table 4:

Table 4. Simple Past Tense Forms of the *a* Base Verbs *čita* 'read' and *pročita* 'read through'

	***čita* 'read'**	***pročita* 'read through'**	
	Imperfect	Imperfect	Aorist
1Sg	*čitav*	*pročitav*	*pročitav*
2Sg	*čitaše*	*pročitaše*	*pročita*
3Sg	*čitaše*	*pročitaše*	*pročita*
1Pl	*čitavme*	*pročitavme*	*pročitavme*
2Pl	*čitavte*	*pročitavte*	*pročitavte*
3Pl	*čitaa*	*pročitaa*	*pročitaa*

3.1.3. When added to verbs whose bases end on the vowel *i* or *e*, the simple past tense person/number markers lead to phonological changes of the base.

3.1.3.1. Imperfective and prefixed perfective verbs undergo the following changes: (a) Verbs whose bases end on the vowel *i* have *e* instead of *i* in the imperfect and *ja* instead of *ia* in the aorist of those verbs in whose bases *i* is preceded by *o*. (b) Verbs whose bases end on the vowel *e* have *a* instead of *e* in the aorist, except when *e* is preceded by the vowel *i* (when they have only *i*).[15] (c) A number of verbs with the voiceless palatal sibilant *ž* and the voiced palatal affricate *č* to the left of *e* in verbs with *e* bases, have the voiced plosive *g*, instead of *ž*, and the voiceless plosive *k*, instead of *č*, in the aorist. (d) Verbs in whose imperfect the vowel *e* is preceded by *er* or *el* have *ra* or *la* instead of *era* or *ela* in the aorist.[16] The forms of the imperfect of

[15] The verb *spie* 'sleep' is exceptional. Its aorist forms are *spav* in the first person singular, *spa* in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular, *spavme* in the 1st person plural, *spavte* in the 2nd person plural, *spaa* in the 3rd person plural.

[16] The imperfective aorist forms of these verbs, as well as those of a number of verbs without *-ra* or *-la* as final phonemes, such as *spie* 'sleep' and *kole* 'slaughter', are still used—very often as repetitions. Examples:

(i) *Bravme* *jabolka.*
pick.1Pl.Impf.Aor apples

the imperfective verbs *nosi* 'wear', *broi* 'count', *pie* 'drink', *pere* 'wash', *plače* 'cry', and the forms of the imperfect and the aorist of the perfective verbs *iznosi* 'wear out', *prebroi* 'count out', *ispie* 'drink out', *ispere* 'wash out', and *zaplače* 'begin to cry' are given in Table 5.

Table 5. Simple Past Tense Forms of Verbs with *i* and *e* Bases

Imperfect of Imperfective Verbs

	nosi	*broi*	*pie*	*pere*	*lače*
1Sg	*nosev*	*broev*	*piev*	*perev*	*lačev*
2Sg	*noseše*	*broeše*	*pieše*	*pereše*	*lačeše*
3Sg	*noseše*	*broeše*	*pieše*	*pereše*	*lačeše*
1Pl	*nosevme*	*broevme*	*pievme*	*perevme*	*plačevme*
2Pl	*nosevte*	*broevte*	*pievte*	*perevte*	*plačevte*
3Pl	*nosea*	*broeja*	*piea*	*perea*	*plačea*

Imperfect of Perfective Verbs

	iznosi	*izbroi*	*ispie*	*ispere*	*zaplače*
1Sg	*iznosev*	*izbroev*	*ispiev*	*isperev*	*zaplačev*
2Sg	*iznoseše*	*izbroeše*	*ispieše*	*ispereše*	*zaplačeše*
3Sg	*iznoseše*	*izbroeše*	*ispieše*	*ispereše*	*zaplačeše*
1Pl	*iznosevme*	*izbroevme*	*ispievme*	*isperevme*	*zaplačevme*
2Pl	*iznosevte*	*izbroevte*	*ispievte*	*isperevte*	*zaplačevte*
3Pl	*iznosea*	*izbroeja*	*ispieja*	*isperea*	*zaplačea*

(i) 'We were picking apples.'

(ii) *Pravte* *včera?*
wash.2Pl.Impf.Aor yesterday
'Were you washing yesterday?'

(iii) *Spav,* *spav* *i* *se*
sleep.1Sg.Impf.Aor sleep.1Sg.Impf.Aor and Acc.Refl.Cl
naspav.
sleep-one's fill.1Sg.Pf.Aor
'I slept, slept and had enough sleeping.'

(iv) *Klaa,* *klaa* *i* *najposle* *gi*
slaughter.3Pl.Impf.Aor slaughter.3Pl.Impf.Aor and finally 3Pl.Acc.Cl
zaklaa *site* *kokoški.*
slaughtered up.3Pl.Pf.Aor all+the.Pl hens.
'They were slaughtering, slaughtering, and finally slaughtered all the hens.'

Aorist (of Perfective Verbs)

	iznosi	*izbroi*	*ispie*	*ispere*	*zaplače*
1Sg	*iznosiv*	*izbrojav*	*ispiv*	*isprav*	*zaplakav*
2Sg	*iznosi*	*izbroja*	*ispi*	*ispra*	*zaplaka*
3Sg	*iznosi*	*izbroja*	*ispi*	*ispra*	*zaplaka*
1Pl	*iznosivme*	*izbrojavme*	*ispivme*	*ispravme*	*zaplakavme*
2Pl	*iznosivte*	*izbrojavte*	*ispivte*	*ispravte*	*zaplakavte*
3Pl	*iznosija*	*izbrojaa*	*ispija*	*ispraa*	*zaplakaa*

3.1.3.2. In the aorist of a number of very common non-prefixed perfective verbs with *e* bases, the vowel *e* has changed to *o* in the 1st person singular and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural forms.[17]

Table 6. Aorist of Common Non-Prefixed Perfective Verbs with *e* Bases

	1Sg.Aor	2/3Sg.Aor	1Pl.Aor	2Pl.Aor	3Pl.Aor
dade 'give'	*dadov*	*dade*	*dadovme*	*dadovte*	*dadoa*
dojde 'come'	*dojdov*	*dojde*	*dojdovme*	*dojdovte*	*dojdoa*
%klade 'put'	*%kladov*	*%klade*	*%kladovme*	*%kladovte*	*%kladoa*
otide 'leave'	*otidov*	*otide*	*otidovme*	*otidovte*	*otidoa*
reče 'say'	*rekov*	*reče*	*rekovme*	*rekovte*	*rekoa*
vide 'see'	*vidov*	*vide*	*vidovme*	*vidovte*	*vidoa*
vleze 'enter'	*vlegov*	*vleze*	*vlegovme*	*vlegovte*	*vlegoa*
zeme 'take'	*zedov*	*zede*	*zedovme*	*zedovte*	*zedoa*

3.1.3.3. The vowel *o* also appears in the 1st person singular and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural forms of the aorist of some prefixed perfective verbs with *e* or *i* bases. In Table 7, the 1st person singular aorist forms of such verbs is compared with their perfective imperfect counterparts.

[17] Some of these verbs were historically derived from bases which drastically differ from the existing perfective forms or no longer exist. Thus, *vleze* is derived from the now non-existent base **leze*, while *otide* 'leave.Pf' and *dojde* 'come' are derived from *ide* 'come/go'.

Note that there are prefixed aorist forms with e bases in which *e* is changed to either *o* or *a*. Example:

(i) *striže* 'shear' *stržev* 'shear.1Sg.Imperf' *ostrigov/ ostržav* 'shear.1Sg.Aor'

Table 7. 1st Person Singular Forms of the Aorist of Some Prefixed Perfective Verbs with *e* or *i* Bases and Their Perfective Imperfect Counterparts

	1Sg.Aor	1Sg.Pf.Imperf
izgrize 'gnaw.Pf'	*izgrizav*	*izgrizev*
izmolze 'milk.Pf'	*izmolgov*	*izmolzev*
izpase 'pasture.Pf'	*ispasov*	*ispasev*
isplete 'braid.Pf'	*ispletov*	*ispletev*
izraste 'grow.Pf'	*izrastov*	*izrastev*
istrese 'shake.Pf'	*istresov*	*istresev*
izvleče 'drag.Pf'	*izvlekov*	*vlečev*
odnese 'carry.Pf'	*odnesov*	*odnesev*
ostriže 'shear.Pf'	*ostrigov*	*ostrižev*
preseče 'cut.Pf'	*presekov*	*presečev*

3.2. While the forms of the imperfect refer to eventualities that were in process for some time in the past, the forms of the aorist refer to eventualities that took place at some point of time in the past.[18]

(8) a. *Toj učeše ama ništo ne nauči.*
he study/learn.3Sg.Imperf but nothing not study/learn.3Sg.Aor
'He was studying but did not learn anything.'

b. *Frlaše kamenja i go skrši*
throw.3Sg.Imperf stones and 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl break.3Sg.Aor
prozorecot.
window+the.M.Sg
'(S)he was throwing stones and broke the window.'

3.3. The forms of the aorist can be used to dramatize the event in a context that shows that the action could not really have taken place in the past:

[18] As pointed out by Friedman (2003), the imperfect is used to describe acts with duration in time that are in sequence rather than coordinated with events described by the aorist. In Friedman 2003 (216) we find the following example as an illustration:

(i) *Taa spieše eden čas i počna da*
she sleep.3Sg.Imperf one.M.Sg hour and begin.3Sg.Aor Subjun.Mark
raboti.
work.3Sg.Pres
'She slept for an hour and began to work.'

(9) a. *Daj* *voda,* *umrev* *od* *žed.*
give.2Sg.Imper water die.1Sg.Aor from thirst
'Give me water, I am dying of thirst!'

b. *Ti* *čekaj,* *a* *jas* *otidov.*
you wait.2Sg.Imper and I go.1Sg.Aor
'You wait, I will go!'

3.4. The forms of the imperfective imperfect may have functions analogous to those of the perfective imperfect forms, which are used in mood structures.[19] Thus, the imperfective imperfect form *ubivav* 'kill.1Sg.Impf.Imperf' in (10a), has the same meaning as the perfective imperfect form *ubiev* 'kill.1Sg.Pf.Imperf'in (10b):[20]

(10) a. *Go* *ubivav* *da* *ne* *me*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl kill.1Sg.Impf.Imperf Subjun.Mark not 1Sg.Acc.Cl
zapreše *ti.*
stop.2Sg.Pf.Imperf you

b. *Ḱe* *go* *ubiev* *da* *ne*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl kill.1Sg.Pf.Imperf Subjun.Mark not
me *zapreše* *ti.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl stop.2Sg.Pf.Imperf you
'I would have killed him if you had not stopped me.'

4. Types of Participles in the Macedonian Compound Tenses

Versions of two of the five morphologically distinct forms of Proto-Slavic participles—the passive past participles and the *l*-participles[21]—function in the Macedonian compound tenses.

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[19] The mood structures are discussed in chapter 12.

[20] The clauses in (10) are from Koneski (1967: 430), with my glosses and translation. The future-in-the-past structure in which *ubiev* is used is historically related to a structure with subjunctive mood (*cf.* section 6 in chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures").

[21] In addition to the passive past participles, Proto Slavic had active past participles, which in Macedonian appear only in a frozen form of the 'be' auxiliary", *bivši*, with the meaning 'former', as well as active and passive present participles, the Macedonian descendants of the former of which are used as gerunds:

(i) *Dojde* *trčajḱi.*
come.3Sg.Imperf running.Ger
'He came running.'

4.1. Passive Participles

The Proto-Slavic passive past participles are in Macedonian reflected by passive participles that, like their ancestors, have attributive, as well as predicative functions.

4.1.1. The modifier 'passive' is avoided in many grammars of Macedonian, since, unlike the passive participles in other Slavic languages, the Macedonian passive participles are not formed only from transitive verbs, but also from intransitive ones.[22] I shall, however, refer to these participles as "passive participles" because, while differing from the passive participles of other Slavic languages, the Macedonian passive participles behave like the passive participles of many non-Slavic European languages, which have verbal as well as adjectival properties and do not form a uniform grammatical category.[23]

4.1.2. The gender/number markers of the Macedonian passive participles are *-n/-t* for masculine singular, *-na/-ta* for feminine singular, *-no/-to* for neuter singular and—*ni/-ti* for the plural of all genders, the distinction between the two types being automatically conditioned—the marker with the *t* occurring in verbs the final consonant of whose bases is *n* or *nj*.

4.1.2.1. While with verbs with *a* bases the addition of the gender/number markers does not bring about any changes of the base, with verbs of *i* bases the final vowel of the base changes to *e* and with verbs with *e* bases ending on *ne* the final phoneme of the base changes to *a*. The forms of the passive participles of the imperfective verb *čita* 'read' and the perfective verb *pročita* 'read through', which have *a* bases, the imperfective verb *odi* 'go' and the perfective verb *plati* 'pay', which have *i* bases, and the imperfective verb *jade* 'eat' and the perfective verb *turne* 'push', which have *e* bases, are given in Table 8.

The descendant of the Proto-Slavic active participle of the 'be' auxiliary *bidejьi* has in Macedonian been lexicalized as a conjunction meaning 'because'.

[22] Koneski (1967) and Friedman (1993/2003) refer to these participles as "verbal adjectives", while Lunt (1952/2003) calls them "*-n/-t* participles".

[23] It has been argued that there are two types of morphologically equivalent passive participles–adjectival and verbal. For Levin and Rappaport (1986: 625), the two types differ in their semantics. While the adjectival participles describe states that result from previous events and do not introduce implicitly an agent, the verbal participles characterize events that have taken place and imply the existence of an agent. Wasow (1977) claims that, while verbal passive participles are derived in syntax, adjectival passive participles must be formed in the lexicon, because they involve a category change when a verb is reinterpreted as an adjective. Jackendoff (1977) and Abney (1987) challenge this view, arguing that both types of passive are built in syntax, though in the case of adjectival passives the participial morphology is a sister to V, while in the case of verbal passives the participial morphology is adjoined to VP.

Table 8. Forms of Passive Participles

	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl
čita 'read.Impf'	*čitan*	*čitana*	*čitano*	*čitani*
pročita 'read-through.Pf'	*pročitan*	*pročitana*	*pročitano*	*pročitani*
odi 'go.Impf'	*oden*	*odena*	*odeno*	*odeni*
plati 'pay.Pf'	*platen*	*platena*	*plateno*	*plateni*
jade 'eat.Impf'	*jaden*	*jadena*	*jadeno*	*jadeni*
turne 'push.Pf'	*turnat*	*turnata*	*turnato*	*turnati*

4.1.2.2. Some of the *i* and *e* base verbs that have distinct imperfect and aorist forms have pairs of passive participles, with one member derived from a present base (or, as some writers express it, from an imperfect-tense base) and another from an aorist base. As shown in Table 9, the differences between the members of these pairs are due to change of base vowels (*cf.* examples a_1–a_6) or to loss of base vowels (*cf.* examples b_1–b_5).

Table 9. Pairs of Passive Participles with One Member Derived from a Present Base and Another From an Aorist Base[24]

		Passive Participles Derived from:	
		Present Bases	Aorist Bases
a_1	*broi* 'count.Impf'	*broen*	*brojan*
a_2	*kroi* 'cut.Impf'	*kroen*	*krojan*
a_3	*pee* 'sing.Impf'	*peen*	*pean*
a_4	*see* 'sow.Impf'	*seen*	*sean*
a_5	*crpi* 'draw.Impf'	*crpen*	*crpen*
a_6	*plače* 'cry.Impf'	*plačen*	*plakan*
b_1	*bere* 'gather.Impf'	*beren*	*bran*
b_2	*dere* 'tear.Impf'	*deren*	*dran*
b_3	*kole* 'butcher.Impf'	*kolen*	*klan*
b_4	*mele* 'grind.Impf'	*melen*	*mlen*
b_5	*pere* 'wash.Impf'	*peren*	*pran*

4.1.2.3. The participles in Table 9 relate to non-prefixed perfective verbs. But, as argued by Koneski (1967: 435), analogous pairs can also relate to prefixed perfective verbs, though with some verbs the prefix is added only to the members in which the person/number marker is preceded by the vowel *a*, whereas with others it is added

[24] Only the masculine singular forms are listed.

only to the members in which the person/number marker is preceded by the vowel *e*. Thus, we have the following acceptability judgements:

(11) a_1 *izbroen* — a_2 *izbrojan*
counted-out.M.Sg.Pass.Part

b_1 *iskroen* — b_2 **iskrojan*
cut-out.M.Sg.Pass.Part

c_1 **nasmeen* — c_2 *nasmean*
smiling.M.Sg.Pass.Part

d_1 *zaseen* — d_2 *zasean*
sown.M.Sg.Pass.Part

4.1.3. Adjectival participles are more often made from perfective than from imperfective verbs, while verbal participles are made equally from the two aspects (*cf.* Koneski 167: 438).

4.1.3.1. While both the imperfective passive participles *kisnat* 'wetted.Impf.Pass. Part' and *cepen* 'split.Impf.Pass.Part' and their perfective counterparts *prokisnat* 'wetted.Pf.Pass.Part' and *rascepen* 'split.Pf.Pass.Part' are acceptable in predicative positions (*cf.* $12a_1$ and $12a_2$), only the perfective verbs *prokisnat* 'wetted.Pf.Pass.Part' and *podrpan* 'torn.Pf.Pass.Part' are acceptable in attributive positions (compare $12b_1$ to $12b_2$).

(12) a_1 *Tremot* *e* *prokisnat* *i*
porch+the.M.Sg be.3Sg wetted.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part and
rascepen.
torn.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'The porch is water-logged and dilapidated.' (lit. 'The porch is wetted and split.')

a_2 *Tremot* *e* *kisnat* *i*
porch+the.M.Sg be.3Sg wetted.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part and
cepen.
torn.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part
'The porch has been water-logged and dilapidated.' (lit. 'The porch has been wetted and split.')

(12) b_1 *prokisnatiot* *i* *rascepen*
wetted.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part+the.M.Sg and split.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
trem
porch
'the water-logged and dilapidated porch' (lit. 'the wetted and split porch')

b_2 **kisnatiot* *i* *cepen*
wetted.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part+the.M.Sg and split.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part
trem
porch

4.1.3.2. There are cases, however, when both imperfective and perfective participles are accepted in both attributive and predicative positions, but their meanings differ:

(13) a_1 *šetan* *čovek*
taken-a-walk.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part man
'a man who has been around'

a_2 *prošetan* *čovek*
taken-a-walk.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part man
'a man who has been walked around'

b_1 *Čovekot* *e* *šetan.*
man+the.M.Sg be.3Sg taken-a-walk.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part
'The man has been around.'

b_2 *Čovekot* *e* *prošetan.*
man+the.M.Sg be.3Sg taken-a-walk.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'The man has been walked around.'

4.1.4. The neuter singular forms of the Macedonian passive participles which end on the suffix *-no* or *-to,* are also used as invariant participles, co-occurring with 'have' auxiliaries. Since they are constructed not only from transitive but also from unergative and unaccusative verbs—types of verbs that never undergo passivization, we shall refer to them as 'past participles', a label used for invariant Romance and Germanic 'have' participles.[25]

[25] While not common in the Slavic languages, past participles analogous to the Macedonian ones, occur in the Romance Balkan languages. In Macedonian, these participles are equivalent to the neuter forms of the passive participles, in Romanian and Megleno-Romanian, they are equivalent to the masculine forms, and in Aromanian, they are equivalent to the feminine forms of the passive participles of these languages. Unlike the 'have' past participles of French and

4.1.4.1. There are past participles that do not have morphologically equivalent passive participles. Thus, *sedeno* 'seated.Past.Part' and *begano* 'escaped.Past.Part' do not have morphologically equivalent, attributively used, passive participles.[26]

(14) a_1 *Čovekot* *ima* *sedeno* *ovde.*
man+the.M.Sg have.3Sg seated.Past.Part here
'The man has been sitting here.'

a_2 **seden* *čovek*
seated.M.Sg.Pass.Part man
purported reading: 'a seated man'

b_1 *Vojnikot* *ima* *begano.*
soldier+the.M.Sg have.3Sg escaped.Past.Part
'The soldier has been escaping.'

b_2 **began* *vojnik*
escaped.M.Sg.Pass.Part soldier
purported reading: 'an escaped soldier'

4.2. *L*-Participles

The Macedonian *l*-participles have gender/number markers like their Proto-Slavic ancestor, but differ from the latter in not occurring in attributive position,[27] being exclusively used with 'be' auxiliaries.[28]

Italian, which are selected only by unaccusative verbs (unergative verbs selecting the 'be' auxiliary), the Balkan Romance past participles are selected by both unaccusative and unergative verbs, as are their Macedonian counterparts (*cf.* Tomić 2006: Chapter 5).

[26] Note, however, that we do have attributively used passive participles derived from the perfective verbs *sedne* 'seat.Perf' and *izbega* 'escape.Perf':

(i) *sednat* *čovek*
seated.M.Sg.Pass.Part man
'a seated man'

(ii) *izbegan* *vojnik*
escaped.M.Sg.Pass.Part soldier
'an escaped soldier'

[27] In this respect, the Macedonian *l*-participles differ from their Serbian/Croatian and Bulgarian counterparts, which occur not only as complements but also as attributes. As shown in (iii), the Macedonian equivalents of the Serbian/Croatian and Bulgarian phrases with *l*-participles used as attributes have passive participles:

(i) *usnula* *lepotica* Serbian/Croatian
fallen-asleep.F.Sg.*l*-Part beauty

4.2.1. The gender/number markers of the Macedonian *l*-participles are *-l* for masculine singular, *-la* for feminine singular, *-lo* for neuter singular, and *-le* for the plural of all genders.

4.2.1.1. With verbs with *a* bases, the addition of the gender/number markers does not bring about any changes of the base:

Table 10. *L*-participles of the *a* Base Verbs
čita 'read' and *pročita* 'read-out'

	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl
čita 'read.Impf'	*čital*	*čitala*	*čitalo*	*čitale*
pročita 'read-out.Pf'	*pročital*	*pročitala*	*pročitalo*	*pročitale*

4.2.1.2. Some of the *i* and *e* base verbs that have distinct imperfect and aorist forms have pairs of *l*-participles, with one member derived from a present base (or, as some writers would say, an imperfect-tense base) and another from an aorist base:[29]

Table 11. Aorist and Present-Base *l*-Participles of Imperfective Verbs[30]

		L-Participles Derived from	
		Present Bases	Aorist Bases
a.	*broi* 'count.Impf'	*broel*	*brojal*
b.	*jade* 'eat.Impf'	*jadel*	*jal*
c.	*mele* 'grind.Impf'	*melel*	*mlel*
d.	*nosi* 'carry.Impf'	*nosel*	*nosil*
e.	*pee* 'sing.Impf'	*peel*	*peal*
f.	*pie* 'drink.Impf'	*piel*	*pil*
g.	*plete* 'knit.Impf'	*pletel*	*plel*

(ii) *zaspala* *krasavica* Bulgarian
fallen asleep.F.Sg.*l*-Part beauty

(iii) *zaspana* *ubavica* Macedonian
fallen asleep.F.Sg.Pass.Part beauty
'sleeping beauty'

[28] Lunt (2003: 139–41) refers to these participles as "resultative *l*-participle".

[29] Prefixations based on the imperfective verbs *odi* 'go' and *nosi* 'carry' have analogous pairs of aorist and imperfect *l*-participles:

(i') *doodil* 'finish going.Aor.*l*-Part' (i") *doodel* 'finish-going.Imperf.*l*-Part'
(ii') *izodil* 'get to the end of.Aor.*l*-Part' (ii") *izodel* 'get to he end of.Imperf.*l*-Part'
(iii') *iznosil* 'wear-out.Aor.*l*-Part' (iii") *iznosel* 'wear-out.Imperf.*l*-Part'

h.	*plače* 'cry.Impf'	*plačel*	*plakal*
i.	*prede* 'spin.Impf'	*predel*	*prel*
j.	*spie* 'sleep.Impf'	*spiel*	*spal*
k.	*stoi* 'stand.Impf'	*stoel*	*stojal*
l.	*uči* 'learn.Impf'	*učel*	*učil*

4.2.1.2.1. As shown in Table 12, many *l*-participles of perfective verbs which in the aorist have the vowel *o* to the left of the 1st person singular and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural person/number markers, also have the vowel *o* to the immediate left of the masculine singular, but not to the left of the other person/number markers of the *l*-participle: [31]

Table 12. Perfective *l*-Participles of Verbs with the Vowel *o* in 1Sg.Aor[32]

	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl
dojdov 'come.1Sg.Aor'	*došol*	*došla*	*došlo*	*došle*
donesov 'bring.1Sg.Aor'	*done(so)l*	*done(s)la*	*done(s)lo*	*dene(s)le*
najdov 'find.1Sg.Aor'	*našol*	*našla*	*našlo*	*našle*
ispekov 'bake.1Sg.Aor'	*ispekol*	*ispekla*	*ispeklo*	*ispekle*
rekov 'say.1Sg.Aor'	*rekol*	*rekla*	*reklo*	*rekle*
istresov 'shake.1Sg.Aor'	*istresol*	*istresla*	*istreslo*	*istresle*
izvlekov 'drag.1Sg.Aor'	*izvlekol*	*izvlekla*	*izvleklo*	*izvlekle*
vlegov 'enter.1Sg.Aor'	*vlegol*	*vlegla*	*vleglo*	*vlegle*

[30] Only the masculine singular forms are listed. Note that (a) verbs whose bases end in the vowel *i* preceded by other vowels change *i* to *ja* in the participles derived from aorist bases, but change it to *e* in the participles derived from present/imperfect bases, (b) verbs whose bases end on the vowel *e* preceded by another vowel, replace the final vowel by the vowel *a*, or both vowels by the vowels *a* or *i* in the participles derived from aorist bases, and (c) in verbs whose bases include the alveo-dental consonants *t* or *d* these consonants and the vowels following them are lost in the participles derived from aorist bases.

The pairs of *l*-participles derived from verbs with *i* bases, preceded by the vowel *o*, have corresponding pairs of passive participle. Thus *broel: brojal* can be paired with *broen: brojan* and *stoel: stojal* can be paired with *stoen: stojan*. Both the *l*-participles derived from present bases (*brojal* and *stojal*, in this case) and their passive participle counterparts (*brojan* and *stojan*, in this case) are, however, predominately used with prefixations.

[31] There are, however, verbs that in the 1st person singular and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural of the aorist have *o*, but in the *l*-participles have *e*. For example:

(i')	*vidov*	(i")	*videl/*vidol*
	see.1Sg.Aor		see.M.Sg.*l*-Part

[32] In the participles derived from *nosi* 'carry', the initial syllable of the verb may be, and in many dialects it is, deleted. Thus, we have the following inter-dialectal alternatives:

4.2.1.2.2. In Table 13, a number of masculine singular aorist-based *l*-participles of perfective verbs with the vowel *o* in masculine singular forms, most of them listed in Table 12, are matched with their present-based counterparts.[33]

Table 13. Aorist and Present-Based *l*-Participles of Perfective Verbs with *o* in M.Sg Forms

		L-Participles Derived from	
		Present Bases	Aorist Bases
dadov 'give.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *dade*)	*dadel*	*dal*
dojdov 'come.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *dojde*)	*dojdel*	*došol*
donesov 'bring.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *donese*)	*donesel*	*donesol*
najdov 'find.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *najde*)	*najdel*	*našol*
ispekov 'bake.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *ispeče*)	*ispečel*	*ispekol*
rekov 'say.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *reče*)	*rečel*	*rekol*
istekov 'flow.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *isteče*)	*istečel*	*istekol*
istresov 'shake.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *istrese*)	*istresel*	*istresol*
izvlekov 'drag.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *izvleče*)	*izvlečel*	*izvlekol*
vlegov 'enter.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *vleze*)	*vlezel*	*vlegol*
zedov 'take.1Sg.Aor'	(3Sg.Aor *zede*)	*zemel*	*zel*

(i') *donesol* (i'') *donel* bring.M.Sg.*l*-Part

(ii') *prenesol* (ii'') *prenel* carry-over.M.Sg.*l*-Part

In the participles derived from *ide* 'go', the *l*-participle is made by adding *l* directly to the base—*idel, idela*. But when a prefix is added, *i* changes to *j*, and the derived verbs are as in Table 12, so that, in the *l*-participle, the root consonant *d* is replaced by *š*, *j* drops, and (in masculine singular) the vowel *o* is inserted before *l*—*dojde, došol, došla*.

(iii') *dojde* (iii'') *došol*
come.3Sg.Aor come.M.Sg.*l*-Part

(iv') *otide* (iv'') *otišol*
leave.3Sg.Aor left.M.Sg.*l*-Part

(v') *najde* (v'') *našol*
find.3Sg.Aor found.M.Sg.*l*-Part

[33] Note that there is a tendency to extinguish the distinction between these two types of participles. Thus, in the speech of the Skopje youth, the forms *dojdel* and *najdel* do not exist, *došol* and *našol* being used in any context. The Skopje youth also uses the participial forms *%višol* 'seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part', *%višla* 'seen.F.Sg.*l*-Part', *%višlo* 'seen.N.Sg.*l*-Part', *%višle* 'seen.Pl.*l*-Part', rather than *videl* 'seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part', *videla* 'seen.F.Sg.*l*-Part', *videlo* 'seen.N.Sg.*l*-Part', *videle* 'seen.Pl.*l*-Part', though the forms with *š* are not, as a rule, used in the standard dialect.

In the aorist-based *l*-participle of *dade* 'give.Pf' and *zede* 'take.Pf' the morpheme *de* to the left of *l* is deleted.

4.2.1.2.3. All semelfactive perfective verbs, many prefixed verbs with *e* bases and many prefixed or non-prefixed perfective verbs with *i* bases, have present- and aorist-based *l*-participle pairs, though they do not have the vowel *o* to the left of the 1st person singular (and 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person plural) person/number markers.

Table 14. Aorist and Present-Based *l*-Participles of Perfective Verbs without *o* in M.Sg Forms

	L-Participles Derived from	
	Present Bases	Aorist Bases
Semelfactive Perfective Verbs		
vikne 'call.Pf'	*viknel*	*viknal*
skokne 'jump.Pf'	*skoknel*	*skoknal*
trčne 'run.Pf'	*trčnel*	*trčnal*
Perfective Verbs with *e* Bases		
napiše 'write.Pf'	*napišel*	*napišal*
prevede 'translate.Pf'	*prevedel*	*prevel*
zasmee 'make-laugh.Pf'	*zasmeel*	*zasmeal*
Perfective Verbs with *i* Bases		
razreši 'acquit/absolve.Pf'	*razrešel*	*razrešil*
reši 'decide.Pf'	*rešel*	*rešil*
stori 'do.Pf'	*storel*	*storil*
udri 'hit.Pf'	*udrel*	*udril*

4.3. The Relationship of Participles and Clausal Clitics

L-participles, passive participles, and past participles have different relationships to clausal clitics.

4.3.1. *L*-participles function as clitic hosts to which the clausal clitics procliticize.

4.3.1.1. In clauses in which V is instantiated by *l*-participles, the clausal clitics may occur clause-initially or to the right of a subject or a topicalized or focused constituent, but never to the right of an *l*-participle. Thus, while (15a) and (15b) are well formed Macedonian clauses, (15c) is not:[34]

[34] The clauses in (15) and (16) are evidential.

(15) a. *Jana ḱe si ja videl.*
Jana will.Mod.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
'It is Jana that you will see, I understand.'

b. *Ḱe si ja videl Jana.*
will.Mod.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part Jana
'You will see Jana, I understand.'

c. **Videl ḱe si ja Jana.*
seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part will.Mod.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Jana

4.3.1.2. No constituent can occur between the clausal clitic cluster and the *l*-participle. Accordingly, neither (16a), not (16b) are acceptable Macedonian clauses.

(16) a. **Si ja Jana videl.*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Jana seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
purported reading: 'He has seen Jana, I understand.'

b. **Si ja včera videl.*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl yesterday seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
purported reading: 'He saw her yesterday, I understand.'

4.3.2. Passive participles in predicate positions function as clitic hosts to which the clausal clitics may either encliticize or procliticize.[35]

4.3.2.1. The passive participles to which the clitics procliticize occur in their base position, whereas the passive participles to which clitics encliticize are raised to a focus position in the Left Periphery of the clause. The questionable acceptability of (17a), compared to the unquestionable acceptability of (17b), indicates that the clitics can occur in initial position and procliticize to passive participles with some (but not all) speakers of the language, though non-initial clitic positioning, with hosts to their left is preferred.[36]

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[35] While *l*-participles have the same clitic placement as tensed verbs, passive participles in predicate positions have the same clitic placement as predicate adjectives. *Cf.* Tomić (1997, 2000a, 2004b) and section 6.2 in chapter 4 of this book, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology".

[36] In Macedonian and Bulgarian, the clausal clitics, which in Old Church Slavonic occurred in second position of the clause, have undergone a change from second position to pre-verbal. In Macedonian, they have come to form enlarged local domains with the verb and are phonologically proclitic, rather than enclitic. The dual behavior of the clitics in Macedonian clauses in which V is instantiated by passive participles indicates that the change from second position to verbal clitics is not completed.

(17) a. *?Mu* *se* *završeni* *proektite.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Cl finished.Pl.Pass.Part projects+the.Pl

b. *Završeni* *mu* *se* *proektite.*
finished.Pl.Pass.Part Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Cl projects+the.Pl

'His projects are finished.'

4.3.2.2. The clitics that occur to the left of passive participles do not always satisfy the criterion for verbal clitichood—non-separability from the verb. As illustrated in (18), in some cases, the Macedonian clausal clitics can be separated from the passive participle:

(18) a. *Na* *Petreta* *mu* *e* *poveḱe* *pati*
to Petre.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl more times

rečeno *da* *bide* *točen.*
told.Past.Part Subjun.Mark be.3Sg.Subjun.Pres punctual.M.Sg

'Petre was told more than once to be punctual.'

b. *Na* *Petreta* *mu* *e* *od* *strana*
to Petre.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl from side

na *komisijata* *veteno* *deka...*
of commission+the.F.Sg promised.Past.Part that

'Petre was promised by the commission that...'

4.3.2.3. On the other hand, as illustrated in (19), the clitics that occur with passive participles, can occur in clitic-third and clitic fourth positions, thus contrasting with the second position clitics, which occur to the immediate right of the first element in the clause:[37]

(19) a. *Na* *Petreta* *poveḱe* *pati* *mu* *e*
to Petre.Acc more times 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl

rečeno *da* *bide* *točen.*
told.Past.Part Subjun.Mark be.3Sg.Subjun.Pres punctual.M.Sg

'Petre was told more than once to be punctual.'

[37] The second position clitics were for the first time described by Wackernagel (1982) and are also referred to as "Wackernagel clitics."

(19) b. *Na Petreta od strana na komisijata poveќe*
to Petre.Acc from side of commission+the.F.Sg more

pati mu e rečeno da
times 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl told.Past.Part Subjun.Mark

bide točen.
be.3Sg.Subjun.Pres punctual.M.Sg

'Petre was more than once told by the commission to be punctual.'

4.3.3. The past participles are not clitic hosts, since they occur as complements of forms of the non-clitic auxiliary *ima* 'have' or its negated counterpart *nema* 'not+have', to which the clausal clitics procliticize, whether occurring to the left of a subject or another clausal constituent, as in (20a) and (20b), or clause-initially as in (20c).[38]

(20) a. *PETRE ti → go → ima dadeno*
Petre 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg given.Past.Part

podarokot.
present+the.M.Sg

'It was Petre that has given the present to you.'

b. *Podarokot ti → go → ima*
present+the.M.Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg

dadeno PETRE.
given.Past.Part Petre

'As for the present, it has been given to you by Petre.'

c. *Ti → go → ima DADENO*
2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg given.Past.Part

podarokot.
present+the.M.Sg

'(S)he has indeed given you the present.'

4.3.3.1. In unmarked declarative clauses, the past participles occur to the right of forms of the non-clitic auxiliary *ima* 'have' or *nema* 'not+have' and can be separated from these forms only by adverbials, which can occur to the left of the clitics, be-

[38] In (20a) and (20b) the subject is focused, whereas in (20c) the past participle is focused. But the clausal constituents can be ordered analogously if the complement of the past participle is focused. The ordering of the sentential constituents is discussed in section 1 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause".

tween the non-clitic auxiliary and the past participle, to the right of the past participle, or to the right of its complement, but not between the clitics and the non-clitic auxiliary:

(21) *Petre* *(veḱe)* *ti* *go* *(*veḱe)* *ima*
Petre already 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl already have.3Sg
(veḱe) *dadeno* *(veḱe)* *podarokot* *(veḱe).*
already given.Past.Part already present+the.M.Sg already
'Petre has already given you the present.'

4.3.3.2. The past participle can be raised to a focus position in the Left Periphery of the clause, in which case it may occur to the immediate left of the clausal clitics. But as shown in (22), the clitics do not encliticize to the participle in this case; they invariably procliticize to the non-clitic auxiliary:[39]

(22) *DADENO* *ti* → *go* → *ima* *Petre*
given.Past.Part 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg Petre
podarokot.
present+the.M.Sg
'Petre has indeed given you the present.'

5. 'Be' Present Perfect with *l*-Participles

In the A system of compound tenses, the *l*-participles, which, when they associate with subjects of the first or second person, singular or plural, combine with the clitic 'be' auxiliaries *sum* 'be.1Sg', *si* 'be.2Sg', *sme* 'be.1Pl', or *ste* 'be2Pl', represent a 'be' present perfect tense that (a) speaks for events that had taken place at an indefinite point of time in the past and have relevance at the present or (b) functions as an exponent of the category of evidentiality.

5.1. The 'be' present perfect tense of the verb *čita* 'read' is given in Table 15:[40]

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[39] Note that, when the past participle is raised to a focus position in the Left Periphery, the subject cannot raise to the specifier node, but has to remain to the right of the verb.

In an exceptionally marked context, the participle can raise to a topic position in the Left Periphery, trailing along any objects or adjuncts, while the 'have' auxiliary is left behind and represents an *in situ* focus.

(i) *Kupeno* *knigite* *gi* *NEMATE.*
bought.Pf.Past.Part books+the.Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl not+have.2Pl
'As for buying the books, you haven't done it.'

Table 15. 'Be' Present Perfect of the Verb *čita* 'read'

	Singular	Plural
1st	*sum čital*	*sme čitale*
2nd	*si čital*	*ste čitale*
3rd	*čital*	*čitale*

5.2. 'Be' present perfects that refer to events that had taken place at an indefinite point of time in the past, but are relevant at the moment of speaking, most frequently refer to 1st person, singular or plural. Examples:

(23) a. *Ne ednaš sum go otvorila*
not once be.1Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl opened.F.Sg.*l*-Part
srcevo pred tebe.
heart+the.N.Sg.Prox1 before you.2Sg.Acc
'More than once I have opened my heart to you.'

b. *Sum ti kažuval sto pati.*
be.1Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl told.M.Sg.*l*-Part hundred times
'I have told you a hundred times.'

c. *Ne sme go videle od ponedelnikot.*
not be.1Pl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.Pl.*l*-Part from Monday+the.M.Sg
'We haven't seen him since Monday.'

5.3. In clauses that reflect the belief of the speaker in the truth of an eventuality that has occurred at an indefinite point of time in the past, but has relevance at the moment of speaking, the 'be' present perfect can refer to 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person subjects. Thus, in the present perfect in (24a), where the speaker expresses a belief that the person to whom he is talking has not slept enough, we have an *l*-participle with 2nd person 'be' auxiliary, and in the present perfect in (24b), where the speaker expresses a belief that the person by the name of Kole had passed by some persons he knows, we have an *l*-participle without an auxiliary (which refers to a third person).

(ii) *Zboruvano so profesorot IMAM.*
spoken.Impf.Past.Part with professor+the.M.Sg have.1Sg
'As for speaking with the professor, I have done it.'

[40] The feminine and neuter singular forms of the *l*-participle are not given. When the *l*-participle is not accompanied by 'be' clitics, the present perfect refers to a 3rd person singular or a 3rd person plural subject.

(24) a. *Ušte* *ne* *si* *se* *naspal* *kako* *što*
still not be.2Sg Acc.Refl.Cl slept.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part how what
treba.
need.3Sg
'You haven't yet had a good sleep.' (lit. 'You haven't yet slept as needed.')

b. *Minal* *kraj* *niv* *Kole.*
passed.M.Sg.*l*-Part by them Kole
'Kole passed by them.'

5.4. In questions that refer to an indefinite point of time in the past, but have relevance at the moment of speaking, the 'be' present perfect usually refers to 2nd or 3rd person subjects:

(25) a. *Dali* *si* *ja* *videl/* *ste*
whether be.2Sg 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part be.2Pl
ja *videle* *Ana?*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.Pl.*l*-Part Ana
'Have you seen Ana?'

b. *Što* *videl* *toj/* *videle* *tie?*
what seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part he seen.Pl.*l*-Part they
'What has he/have they seen?'

5.5. When functioning as exponents of the category of evidentiality, the 'be' perfects of the A system of compound tenses can refer to subjects of 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person.[41]

5.6. Present perfects with 3rd person subjects can also be used in clauses expressing wishes or curses referring to the future:[42]

(26) a. *Dal* *vi* *Gospod* *dobro!*
given.M.Sg.Perf.*l*-Part 2Pl.Dat.Cl God good
'May God be good to you!' (lit. 'Let God give you good (things)!')

---

[41] Evidentiality is discussed in section 10 below.

[42] The examples in (26) are from Koneski (1967: 469), with my glosses and translation.

(26) b. *Vetrot* *te* *zaveal!*
wind+the.M.Sg 2Sg.Acc.Cl cover-with-snow.*l*-Part.M.Sg
'May the wind cover you with snow!'

6. 'Be' Past Perfect

In the A system of compound tenses, there are 'be' past perfects, in which *l*-participles co-occur with the imperfect (non-clitic) forms of the 'be' auxiliary *bev* '1Sg.Imperf', *beše* '2/3Sg.Imperf', *bevme* '1Pl.Imperf', *bevte* '2Pl.Imperf', or *bea* '3Pl.Imperf' and represent the 'be' past perfect tense.

6.1. The 'be' past perfects can be constructed with *l*-participles of both perfective and imperfective verbs, though the 'be' past perfects with perfective verbs are more frequent than the 'be' past perfects with imperfective verbs. The 'be' past perfect of the perfective verb *pročita* 'read-through' is given in Table 16:[43]

Table 16. 'Be' Past Perfect of the Perfective Verb *pročita* 'read-through'

	Singular[44]	Plural
1st	*bev pročital*	*bevme pročitale*
2nd	*beše pročital*	*bevte pročitale*
3rd	*beše pročital*	*bea pročitale*

6.2. In older descriptions, the past perfect referred to events that had taken place in the remote past (*cf.* Koneski 1967):[45]

(27) a. *Bev* *slušal* *za* *nea.*
be.1Sg.Imperf heard.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part for her.F.Sg.Acc
'I had heard about her.'

[43] The bases from which the imperfect forms of the 'be' auxiliary are formed differ from those from which the present tense auxiliary clitics are formed.

[44] Only the masculine singular forms of the *l*-participle are given.

[45] The examples are from Koneski (1967: 482–83), with my glosses and translation. Mindak (1988) notes that in Cepenkov's famous 19th century collections of folk tales, the 'be' past perfect denotes changes of situations important in story telling. Note that, in the B system of compound tenses, there is no 'be' past perfect. The third person singular imperfect 'be' form is in this system used as a frozen modal particle (*cf.* section 10.6 below).

(27) b. *Po* *nekoj* *den,* *beše* *si*
after some.M.Sg day be.3Sg.Imperf Dat.Refl.Cl

umrel.
died.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

'A few days later, he died.'

c. *Veterot* *beše* *stivnal.*
wind+the.M.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf quieted.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

'The wind had quieted.'

d. *Beše* *bilo* *kako* *što*
be.3Sg.Imperf been.N.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part as what

sakaa *tie.*
want.3Pl.Imperf they

'Things were as they wanted.' (lit. 'It had been as they wanted.')

6.3. Currently, the 'be' past perfect is most frequently used to denote a past event that had taken place before another event in the past.[46]

(28) a. *Go* *bea* *napišale* *pismoto,*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl be.3Pl.Imperf written.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part letter+the.N.Sg

koga *im* *se* *javivme.*
when 3Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl call.1Pl.Aor

'They had written the letter when we called them.'

b. *Koga* *toj* *dojde,* *nie* *veḱe* *bevme*
when he come.3Sg.Aor we already be.1Pl.Imperf

završile *so* *jadenjeto.*
finished.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part with eating

'When he came, we had already finished eating.'

c_1 *Ušte* *pred* *da* *dojde,* *ja*
even before Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

beše *rešaval* *taa* *rabota.*
be.3Sg.Imperf solved.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part that.F matter

'Even before he came, he had been working on that matter.'

---

[46] The examples ($28c_1$–c_2) are from Lunt (2003: 147):

(28) c_2 *Ušte* *pred* *da* *dojde,* *ja*
even before Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
beše *rešil* *taa* *rabota.*
be.3Sg.Imperf solved.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part that.F matter
'Even before he came, he had solved (the problem of) that matter.'

6.4. In clauses with clausal clitics, the past tense forms of the 'be' auxiliary, which are not clitic, serve as hosts to the clitics. However, unlike tensed lexical verbs, and the (non-clitic) 'have' auxiliaries, which always occur to the right of the clitics, the past tense forms of the 'be' auxiliaries can occur either to the right or to the left of the clitics.

(29) a. *Si* *go* *bea* *završile*
Refl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Pl.Imperf finished.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part
proektot.
project+the.M.Sg

b. *Bea* *si* *go* *završile*
be.3Pl.Imperf Refl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl finished.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part
proektot.
project+the.M.Sg
'They had finished the project.'

6.4.1. It might be supposed that in clauses such as (29b) the clitics could either procliticize to the *l*-participle or encliticize to the 'be' auxiliary. However, the fact that, as shown in (30), a non-clitic constituent can occur between the clitics and the *l*-participle, but not between the 'be' auxiliary and the clitics, indicates that, when the past tense 'be' auxiliary occurs to the left of clitics, they encliticize to it.

(30) *Beše* *(*TI)* *mu* *go* *(TI)*
be.1Pl.Imperf you.2Sg 2Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl you.2Sg
dal.
given.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part
'It was YOU who had given it to him.'

7. 'Have' Perfects

In the B system of compound tenses, the invariant past participle ending on the suffixes *-no* or *-to* co-occurs with 'have' auxiliaries and leads to the formation of the 'have' present or 'have' past perfects.

7.1. To form the present perfect, the past participle combines with the present tense forms of the auxiliary *ima* 'have' or its negated counterpart *nema* 'not+have', whereas to form the past perfect it combines with the imperfect forms of these auxiliaries.

7.1.1. The 'have' present tense and imperfect forms of the 'have' auxiliary and its negated counterpart are equivalent to corresponding forms of the lexical verbs *ima* 'have' or *nema* 'have+not', respectively. These forms are given in Table 17:

Table 17. Present Tense and Imperfect Forms of the Verbs *ima* 'have' and *nema* 'not+have'

	Present Tense Forms		Imperfect Forms	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*imam/nemam*	*imame/nemame*	*imav/nemav*	*imavme/nemavme*
2nd	*imaš/nemaš*	*imate/nemate*	*imaše/nemaše*	*imavte/nemavte*
3rd	*ima/nema*	*imaat/nemaat*	*imaše/nemaše*	*imaa/nemaa*

7.1.2. The 'have' present and past perfects can be constructed not only from transitive, but also from intransitive perfective and imperfective verbs. In Table 18 we have the forms of the present and past 'have' perfects of the transitive perfective verb *dobie* 'get':

Table 18. Present and Past 'have' Perfects of the Verb *dobie* 'get'

	Present Perfect			
	Singular		Plural	
1st	*imam/nemam*	*dobieno*	*imame/nemame*	*dobieno*
2nd	*imaš/nemaš*	*dobieno*	*imate/nemate*	*dobieno*
3rd	*ima/nema*	*dobieno*	*maat/nemaat*	*dobieno*

	Past Perfect			
	Singular		Plural	
1st	*imav/nemav*	*dobieno*	*imavme/nemavme*	*dobieno*
2nd	*imaše/nemaše*	*dobieno*	*imavte/nemavte*	*dobieno*
3rd	*imaše/nemaše*	*dobieno*	*imaa/nemaa*	*dobieno*

7.2. With transitive and unergative verbs, the 'have' perfects may have an experiential or resultative reading.[47] In the case of the present perfect, resultativeness relates to the moment of speaking, while in the case of the past perfect it relates to a past moment. The 'have' past perfect, however, has an anteriority reading, as well.

7.2.1. The 'have' present and past perfects with experiential readings are illustrated in (31):

(31) a. *Nikogaš go nemam videno*
never 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg seen.Past.Part

nasmean.
smiling.M.Sg.Pass.Part

'I have never seen him smiling.'

b. *Koga go vidov, se setiv*
when 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor Acc.Refl.Cl remember.1Sg.Aor

deka poveḱe pati go imav sretnato
that more times 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Imperf met.Past.Part

na istoto mesto.
on same+the.N.Sg place

'When I saw him, I remembered that I had met him more than once at the same place.'

7.2.2. The 'have' present and past perfects with resultative readings are illustrated in (32):

[47] The difference between the two readings can be established through context or through the presence of adverbs or adverbial expressions. Thus, *nikogaš* 'never' and *poveḱe pati* 'more than once/often' signal the experietial reading in (31a–b), while *sè ušte* 'still' and *veḱe* 'already' signal the resultative reading in (32a–b).

(32) a. *Sè ušte ja nemam pročitano*
still 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg read-through.Past.Part
knigata.
book+the.F.Sg
'I haven't yet finished reading the book.'

b. *Koga dojde ti, toj veḱe ja*
when come.3Sg.Aor you.2Sg he already 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
imaše pročitano knigata.
have.3Sg.Imperf read-through.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
'When you came, he had already finished reading the book.'

7.3. With unaccusative verbs, the 'have' perfects have only experiential readings:

(33) a. *Imam dojdeno ovde poveḱe pati.*
have.1Sg come.Past.Part here more times
'I have come here more than once.'

b. *Go znaev patot. Imav*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl know.1Sg.Imperf way+the.M.Sg have.1Sg.Imperf
otideno tamu poveḱe pati.
gone.Past.Part there more times
'I knew the way. I had gone there more than once.'

7.4. The use of the 'have' perfects increases as one moves westwards in the Macedonian-speaking territory and is most intense in the southwestern Macedonian dialects.

7.4.1. In the southwestern Macedonian dialects of Ohrid and Struga, 'have' perfects are constructed even with participles from the verbs *ima* 'have' and *sum* 'be', from which in other dialects no past participles are constructed:[48]

[48] There is no dialect in which past participles can be constructed from the modal verbs *može* 'can/be able/be possible/may', *mora* 'must', *smee* 'dare/may/be allowed', or *treba* 'have to'. Thus, the 'have' perfect forms in (i–iv) are unacceptable:

(i) **imam moženo*
(ii) **imam morano*
(iii) **imam smeeno*
(iv) **imam trebano*

(34) a. *%Imam imano vakov fustan.*
have.1Sg had.Past.Part such.M.Sg dress
'I have had a dress like this one.'

b. *%Imam bideno vo ovoj grad.*
have.1Sg been.Past.Part in this.M.Sg town
'I have been in this town.'

7.4.2. In the Kičevo (west-central) dialect, the older 'have' perfect forms with inflecting passive participles are preserved:

(35) *%Edna kuḱa imat najdena epten uba.*
a.F.Sg house have.3Sg found.F.Sg.Pass.Part extremely beautiful
'(S)he has found an extremely beautiful house.'

7.4.3. In the southwesternmost Macedonian dialects (in northwestern Greece), there is no 'be' perfect, and the 'have' perfect has taken over many of its functions.

7.5. The forms of the 'have' present and past perfects can combine with the invariable modal clitic *ḱe* 'will', to yield complex structures that represent modality, aspect and tense and are traditionally referred to as "future perfect", if *ima* 'have' is in the present tense, and "future perfect-in-the-past', if *ima* 'have' is in the past tense:[49]

(36) a. *Do utre napladne ḱe go imame*
till tomorrow at noon will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Pl
završeno proektot.
finished.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
'By tomorrow at noon we will have finished the project.'

b. *Ako ne dojdevte, ḱe go imavme*
if not come.2Pl.Aor will.Mod.Cl it.Acc.Cl have.1Pl.Imperf
završeno proektot.
finished.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
'If you had not come we would have finished the project.'

7.6. The 'have' present perfect also combines with forms of the 'be' auxiliary plus *l*-participles, signalling evidentiality:

[49] Future tenses are discussed in section 6 of chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures".

(37) *Do utre napladne ќe sme go*
till tomorrow at-noon will.Mod.Cl be.1Pl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
imale završeno proektot.
had.3Pl.*l*-Part finished.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
'By tomorrow at noon we will, reportedly, have finished the project.'

In (37), *ќе* is an exponent of expectative modality, *sme* contains features of person, number, tense, and reported evidentiality, *imale* contains features of the 'have' perfect and evidentiality, while *završeno* contains features of the 'have' perfect and perfective aspect. Traditional grammars, however, treat such structures as having either temporal (future-in-the-past) or modal (counterfactual) value.

8. 'Be' Perfects with Passive Participles

To express the result of the action of an unaccusative verb, Macedonian employs the present tense and imperfect forms of the 'be' auxiliary, plus inflecting passive participles marked by *-n/-t* for M.Sg, *-na/-ta* for F.Sg, *-no/-to* for N.Sg, *-ni/-ti* for all persons plural—formal devices, typically characterising passive constructions. We can refer to these tenses as "present and past 'be' perfects with passive participles".

8.1. The present 'be' perfect makes use not only of the first person singular, first person plural, second person singular, and second person plural clitic 'be' auxiliaries *sum, si, sme,* and *ste*, but also of the third person singular and third person plural clitic 'be' auxiaries *e* and *se*. The past 'be' perfect makes use of all existing imperfect (non-clitic) 'be' auxiliary forms.

8.1.1. The present and past 'be' perfects with passive participles of the unaccusative perfective verb *dojde* 'come.Pf' are given in Table 19:

Table 19. 'Be' Perfects with Passive Participles of the Perfective Verb *dojde* 'come'[50]

'Be' Present Perfect		
	Singular	Plural
1st	*(sum) dojden (sum)*	*(sme) dojdeni (sme)*
2nd	*(si) dojden (si)*	*(ste) dojdeni (ste)*
3rd	*(e) dojden (e)*	*(se) dojdeni (se)*

[50] The feminine and neuter singular forms of the participles are not given. The present tense (clitic) auxiliaries can precede the participles only when there are constituents to their immediate left, to which they can encliticize.

'Be' Past Perfect

	Singular	Plural
1st	*(bev) dojden (bev)*	*(bevme) dojdeni (bevme)*
2nd	*(beše) dojden (beše)*	*(bevte) dojdeni (bevte)*
3rd	*(beše) dojden (beše)*	*(bea) dojdeni (bea)*

8.2. The 'be' present perfect with a passive participle expresses an event that happened in the past but has present relevance, like the 'have' present perfect, whereas the 'be' past perfect with a passive participle expresses an event that happened in the past before another past event, like the 'have' past perfect. However, while the 'have' perfect is used with transitive, unergative, and unaccusative verbs and can have either resultative or experiential readings, the 'be' perfect with passive participles is mainly used with unaccusative verbs. Examples:

(38) a_1 *Dojdena* *sum* *da* *si*
come.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part be.1Sg.Cl Subjun.Mark Dat.Refl.Cl

pozboruvame.
talk.1Pl.Repet

'I have come to have a word with you.' (lit. 'I have come for us to talk to each other.')

a_2 *Toj* *e* *dosta* *šetan.*
he be.3Sg.Cl enough walked.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part

'He has been around.'

b_1 *Bev* *dojdena* *da*
be.1Sg.Imperf come.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part Subjun.Mark

si *pozboruvame.*
Dat.Refl.Cl talk.1Pl.Repet

'I had come to talk to you.'(lit. 'I had come so that we talk to each other.')

b_2 *Koga* *stana* *ti,* *tie* *veḱe* *bea*
when get-up.2Sg.Aor you.2Sg they already be.3Pl.Imperf

otideni.
leave.Pl.Pf.Pass.Part

'When you got up, they had already left.'

8.3. The 'be' perfects with passive participles are extensively used in the western Macedonian dialects. In the Ohrid-Struga southwestern dialects, they are even constructed with passive participles derived from transitive verbs:

(39) *%Pijana* *sum* *kafe!*
drunk.F.Sg.Pass.Part be.1Sg coffee
'I have had coffee.' (lit. 'I have drunk coffee.')

8.4. In the Prilep (west-central) dialect, resultativeness may be expressed by 'be' auxiliaries followed by the invariable past participle, which is characteristic of the 'have' perfect:

(40) *%Ne* *ti* *je* *Stojan* *umreno.*
not 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg Stojan.M.Sg died.Past.Part
'Your Stojan has not died.'

8.5. As observed in (41), the passive participles in the 'be' perfect can occur to the left or to the right of the 'be' auxiliary. In both cases the present tense forms of the 'be' auxiliary, that is, the auxiliary clitics, can be followed by dative pronominal clitics:

(41) a. *Sum* *ti* *dojdena* *vo* *poseta.*
be.1Sg.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl come.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part in visit
'I have come to pay you a visit.'

b. *Dojdena* *sum* *ti* *vo* *poseta.*
come.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part be.1Sg.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl in visit
'I have come to pay you a visit.'

9. Use of the 'be' Auxiliary in Passive Constructions

The passive participles of imperfective or perfective transitive verbs accompanied by present tense (clitic) 'be' auxiliaries *sum* 'be.1Sg', *si* 'be.2Sg', *e* 'be.3Sg', *sme* 'be.1Pl', *ste* 'be.2Pl', *se* 'be.3Pl', and the imperfect 'be' (non-clitic) auxiliaries *bev* '1Sg.Imperf', *beše* '2/3Sg.Imperf', *bevme* '1Pl.Imperf', *bevte* '2Pl.Imperf', and *bea* '3Pl.Imperf' are used in present and past tense passive constructions.

9.1. The passive constructions differ from the 'be' perfects in accepting not only the past participles used in indicative contexts, but also those used in subjunctive contexts.

9.1.1. The paradigm of the present and past tense passive constructions of the perfective transitive verb *nagradi* 'reward' are given in Table 20:[51]

Table 20. Present and Past Tense Passive Constructions of the Verb *nagradi* 'reward'

Present Tense Constructions		
	Singular	Plural
1st	*(sum) nagraden (sum)*	*(sme) nagradeni (sme)*
2nd	*(si) nagraden (si)*	*(ste) nagradeni (ste)*
3rd	*(e) nagraden (e)*	*(se) nagradeni (se)*
Past Tense Constructions		
	Singular	Plural
1st	*(bev) nagraden (bev)*	*(bevme) nagradeni (bevme)*
2nd	*(beše) nagraden (beše)*	*(bevte) nagradeni (bevte)*
3rd	*(beše) nagraden (beše)*	*(bea) nagradeni (bea)*

9.1.2. The paradigm of the future and conditional passive constructions of the perfective transitive verb *nagradi* 'reward' are given in Table 21:

Table 21. Future Tense and Conditional Passive Constructions of the Verb *nagradi* 'reward'[52]

Future tense constructions	
	Singular
1st	*(ќe sum/ ќe bidam) nagraden (ќe sum/ ќe bidam)*
2nd	*(ќe si/ ќe bideš) nagraden (ќe si/ ќe bideš)*
3rd	*(ќe e/ ќe bide) nagraden (ќe e/ ќe bide)*
	Plural
1st	*(ќe sme/ ќe bideme) nagradeni (ќe sme/ ќe bidme)*
2nd	*(ќe ste/ ќe bidete) nagradeni (ќe ste/ ќe bidete)*
3rd	*(ќe se/ ќe bidat) nagradeni (ќe se/ ќe bidat)*

[51] Not all transitive verbs can make 1st and 2nd person passive constructions. I am listing examples of passive constructions constructed from a verb that can make not only 3rd, but also 1st and 2nd person passive constructions.

[52] The usage of *sum/si/e/sme/ste/se* forms is distinct from that of the *bidam/bideš/bide/bideme/bidete/bidat* forms. *Cf.* section 3.5 of chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures".

Future-in-the-past tense constructions

	Singular
1st	*(ќе bev/ ќе bidev) nagraden (ќе bev/ ќе bidev)*
2nd	*(ќе beše/ ќе bideše) nagraden (ќе beše/ ќе bideše)*
3rd	*(ќе beše/ ќе bideše) nagraden (ќе beše/ ќе bideše)*
	Plural
1st	*(ќе bevme/ ќе bidevme) nagradeni (ќе bevme/ ќе bidevme)*
2nd	*(ќе bevte/ ќе bidevte) nagradeni (ќе bevte/ ќе bidevte)*
3rd	*(ќе bea/ ќе bidea) nagradeni (ќе bea/ ќе bidea)*

Conditional passive constructions

	Singular	Plural
1st/2nd/3rd	*(bi bil) nagraden (bi bil)*	*(bi bile) nagradeni (bi bile)*

9.2. The 'be' passive constructions have subjects representing the internal argument of the verb.[53]

(42) a. *Knigata* *e* *skinata.*
book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg torn.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'The book is torn.'

b$_1$ *Prašanjeto* *e* *rešavano* *poveќe pati.*
question+the.N.Sg be.3Sg solved.N.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part more times
'The question has been solved on many occasions.'

b$_2$ *Prašanjeto* *e* *rešeno.*
question+the.N.Sg be.3Sg solved.N.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'The question is solved.'

c. *Knigata* *beše* *skinata.*
book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf torn.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'The book was torn.'

[53] In this respect they behave like the passives with the accusative reflexive clitic *se* (*cf.* 2.3.1 in chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals").

Note that only examples of present and past tense passive constructions are given here. The use of the future tense and conditional passives is exemplified in sections 6 and 7 of chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures".

(42) d_1 *Prašanjeto* *beše* *postavuvano* *poveḱe*
question+the.N.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf set.N.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part more

pati.
times

'The question had been asked more than once.'

d_2 *Problemot* *beše* *rešen.*
problem+the.M.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf solved.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part

'The problem was solved.'

9.3. The initiator of the eventuality represented in the passive construction is demoted and appears only in the formal register, when it is introduced by the preposition *od* 'from' or by the prepositional phrase *od strana na* 'on the part of':[54]

(43) a. *Knigata* *e* *pretstavena* *od*
book+the.F.Ss be.3Sg presented.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part from

urednikot.
editor+the.M.Sg

'The book was presented by the editor.'

b. *Tie* *se* *pretstaveni* *od* *strana*
they be.3Pl represented.Pl.Pf.Pass.Part from part

na *strancite.*
of foreigners+the.Pl

'They were presented by the foreigners.'

9.4. Constructions with 1st and 2nd person, singular, or plural 'be' auxiliaries can function both as 'be' passives and as 'be' perfects:

(44) a. *Jas* *sum* *omažena.*
I be.1Sg married.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part

1. 'I am married.'
2. 'I have been married.'

---

[54] The prepositions with *od* do not always represent the demoted initiator of the eventuality. Thus, the prepositional phrase in (i) has an adverbial meaning:

(i) *Racete* *im* *bea* *skočaneti* *od* *stud.*
hands+the.Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Imperf clench.Pl.Pass.Part from cold

'Their hands were clenched because of the cold.'

(44) b. *Vie* *bevte* *nagradeni.*
you.Pl be.2Pl.Imperf reward.Pl.Pf.Pass.Part

1. 'You were rewarded.'
2. 'You had been rewarded.'

10. Evidentials

Whereas in the A system of compound tenses constructions of 'be' auxiliaries plus *l*-participles (for 1st and 2nd person, singular or plural) or only *l*-participles (for 3rd person singular or 3rd person plural) are exponents of the category of evidentiality, in addition to referring to actions or states that began at some point of time in the past and last until the moment of speaking, in the B system of compound tenses these constructions are exclusively exponents of the category of evidentiality.[55]

10.1. Typically, the Macedonian evidentials impart the speaker's non-awareness of the event to which the verb refers.[56] Consider the following sentences:

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[55] The heart of the B subsystem is Ohrid, a city in southwestern Macedonia where Albanian, Romance, Slavic, and Greek were all in contact and competition and were overlain by Turkish, which, according to Friedman (2004: 123–24), is the source for the development of the Balkan category of evidentiality. Note that, in the dialect of Bitola, seventy kilometers to the northeast of Ohrid, the evidential forms are not used at all—most probably under the influence of Aromanian and Greek.

[56] Non-awareness most often implies absence from the environment where the event takes place. It is, however, possible that the speaker is convinced that the event is true, though he has not witnessed it, in which case no exponents of evidentiality are used. Thus, when you ring a doorbell and get no answer, if you believe that the person you were looking for did not answer because (s)he was not at home, but rather was in her/his office, you can communicate this to someone else by saying:

(i) *Ne* *beše* *doma.* *V* *kancelarija* *beše.*
not be.Imperf at-home in office be.Imperf
'He was not at home. He was in his office.'

If not the person you were looking for, but rather somebody else answers the bell and tells you that the person you were looking for did not answer the bell because (s)he was not at home, but rather was in her/his office, and you believe that (s)he told you the truth when (s)he told you that the person you were looking for was not at home, but you are not so sure that (s)he was in her/his office, you can use forms of the imperfect in the first clause and exponents of evidentiality in the second clause and say:

(ii) *Ne* *beše* *doma.* *V* *kancelarija* *bil.*
not be.Imperf at-home in office be.*l*-Part
'He was not at home. Reportedly, he was in his office.'

If, however, you are not sure that the person that answered the bell has told you the truth when (s)he said that the person you were looking for was not at home, you can use exponents of evidentiality in both clauses and say:

(45) a. *Veli deka si me videl.*
say.3Sg that be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
'(S)he says that you have seen me.'

b. *Se gleda deka si zboruvala so Ana.*
Acc.Refl.Cl see.3Sg that be.2Sg spoken.F.Sg.*l*-Part with Ana
'One can see that you have spoken to Ana.'

c. *Ovaa forma se upotrebuva za dejstva što*
this.F form Acc.Refl.Cl use.3Sg for actions what
se izvršile pred nekoe drugo
Acc.Refl.Cl accomplished.*l*-Part before some.N.Sg other.N.Sg
dejstvo vo minatoto.
action in past+the.N.Sg
'This form is used to express actions that have taken place before some other actions in the past.'

In (45a) we have a reported event, in (45b) a circumstantial deduction,[57] and in (45c) the *l*-participle is used in a definition.

10.2. Related to non-awareness is the use of evidentials to express surprise, admiration, amazement, or irony:[58]

(iii) *Ne bil doma. V kancelarija bil.*
not be.Imperf at-home in office be.*l*-Part
'Reportedly, he was not at home, but rather in his office.'

Note that Friedman (2004: 105) uses an example similar to (ii).

[57] The verbs in the main clauses in (45a) and (45b) signal only the type of evidentiality, not evidentiality itself. The information imparted by these sentences can be rendered without the introductory main clauses, in which case the type of evidentiality is deduced from the circumstances or from a previous text. Depending on context, (i) and (ii) could have either of the two listed readings:

(i) *Si me videl.*
be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
1. 'I hear that you have seen me.'
2. 'I see that you have seen me.'

(ii) *Si zboruvala so Ana.*
be.2Sg talked.F.Sg.*l*-Part with Ana
1. 'I hear that you have spoken with Ana.'
2. 'I see that you have spoken with Ana.'

[58] As we see in (46a), the same sentence, with different intonation, expresses surprise, admiration, irony, or mockery. Without the emphatic intonation, it can also report an event or impart circumstantial deduction.

(46) a. *Ama ti si bil junak!*
but you be.2Sg been.M.Sg.*l*-Part hero

1. 'You are such a hero!' (admiration)
2. '(I am surprised to see that) you are a hero.' (surprise)
3. 'You a hero!' (irony or mockery)

b. *Kakva ubava šapka ti isplela*
what.kind beautiful.F.Sg hat 2Sg.Dat.Cl knitted.F.Sg.*l*-Part
majka ti!
mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl

'What a beautiful hat your mother has knitted for you!' (admiration)

c. *Ti si go skršila bokalot?!*
you be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl broken.F.Sg.*l*-Part jug+the.M.Sg

'You've broken the jug?!' (amazement, wonderment)

d. *Ne sum znaela deka si tolku*
not be.1Sg known.F.Sg.*l*-Part that be.2Sg that much
silen!
strong.M.Sg

'I did not know that you were so strong!' (surprise, admiration, irony)

10.3. Evidential forms can commonly be used in narratives:

(47) a. *Sum (ti) stanala rano i sum*
be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl got-up.F.Sg.*l*-Part early and be.1Sg
(ti) se dala na rabota.
2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl given.F.Sg.*l*-Part on work

'Lo and behold, I got up early and got to work.' (lit. 'I got up early and gave myself to work.')

Note that the evidential meaning of mockery can be imparted by constructions in which the *l*-participle, or a 'be' auxiliary plus an *l*-participle, is preceded by the modal clitic *ќе*—a construction which expresses counterfactuality:

(i) *Toj ќе me natepal mene!*
he will.Mod.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl beat.M.Sg.*l*-Part me.Pron
'He couldn't beat me!'

(ii) *Ti ќе si me natepal mene!*
he will.Mod.Cl be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl beat.M.Sg.*l*-Part me.Pron
'You couldn't beat me!'

(47) b. *Si* *bil* *eden* *car* *i* *si*
Dat.Refl.Cl been.M.Sg.*l*-Part a.M.Sg king and Dat.Refl.Cl

imal *dva* *sina.*
had.M.Sg.*l*-Part two sons

'There was a king and he had two sons.'

c. *Mislel,* *se* *čudel* *što*
thought.M.Sg.*l*-Part Acc.Refl.Cl wondered.M.Sg.*l*-Part what

da *pravi.*
Subjun.Mark do.3Sg

'He was thinking and wondering what to do.'

d. *Odel,* *odel* *ta* *došol*
gone.M.Sg.*l*-Part gone.M.Sg.*l*-Part and come.M.Sg.*l*-Part

do *eden* *saraj.*
to a.M.Sg palace

'He was going, going, and came to a palace.'

10.4. The exponents of evidentiality can in some cases interact with exponents of the 'have' perfect. The uses exemplified in sections 10.1 and 10.2 actually have counterparts with 'have' perfects, while the uses exemplified in section 10.3 do not. Thus, (48a–d) are well formed sentences of Macedonian, but (48e–f) are not:

(48) a. *Reče* *deka* *si* *me* *imala*
say.3Sg.Aor that be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl had.F.Sg.*l*-Part

videno.
seen.Past.Part

'(S)he said that you had seen me.'

b. *Se* *gledaše* *deka* *si* *imala*
Acc.Refl.Cl see.3Sg.Imperf that be.2Sg had.F.Sg.*l*-Part

zboruvano *so* *Ana.*
spoken.Past.Part with Ana

'One could see that you had spoken to Ana.'

c. *Kakva* *ubava* *šapka* *ti* *imala*
what.kind beautiful.F.Sg hat 2Sg.Dat.Cl had.F.Sg.*l*-Part

ispleteno *majka* *ti!*
knitted.Past.Part mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl

'What a beautiful hat your mother has knitted for you!' (admiration)

(48) d. *Ti si go imala skršeno*
you be.2Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl had.F.Sg.*l*-Part broken.Past.Part
bokalot!
jug+the.M.Sg
'You had broken the jug?!' (amazement, wonderment)

e. **Sum (ti) imala stanato rano*
be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl had.F.Sg.*l*-Part got-up.Past.Part early
i sum (ti) se imala
and be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl had.F.Sg.*l*-Part
dadeno na rabota.
given.Past.Part on work

f. **Si imal bideno eden car i*
Dat.Refl.Cl had.M.Sg.*l*-Part been.Past.Part a.M.Sg king and
si imal imano dva sina.
Dat.Refl.Cl had.M.Sg.*l*-Part had.Past.Part two Sons

10.5. Evidentiality can be expressed by 'be' *l*-participles followed by passive participles of lexical verbs. Compare the 'be' perfect construction with passive participles in ($49a_1$) and ($49b_1$) to the evidential constructions in ($49a_2$) and ($49b_2$), respectively:

(49) a_1 *Knigite bea kupeni.*
book+the.Pl be.3Pl.Imperf bought.Pl.Pass.Part
'The books were bought.'

a_2 *Knigite bile kupeni.*
book+the.Pl been.Pl.*l*-Part bought.Pl.Pass.Part
'The books were bought, as I understand.'

b_1 *Ti beše dojdena.*
you.2Sg be.2Sg.Imperf come.F.Sg.Pass.Part
'You had come.'

b_2 *Ti si bila dojdena.*
you.2Sg be.2Sg.Cl been.F.Sg.*l*-Past come.F.Sg.Pass.Part
'You had come, as I understand.'

10.6. In the southwestern Macedonian dialects, the constructions marking evidentiality can be preceded by the (2nd or 3rd person) imperfect form of the 'be' auxiliary,

beše, used as a frozen modal particle that can be translated into English as 'unlikely' or 'hardly':

(50) a. *%Na vakov den beše si go*
on such.M.Sg.Prox1 day hardly be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

našla doma.
found.F.Sg.*l*-Part at-home

'On a day like this you would hardly find him at home.'

b. *%Beše sme im go videle*
unlikely be.1Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl seen.Pl.*l*-Part

liceto.
face+the.N.Sg

'We'll never see his face again!' (lit. 'It is very unlikely that we would see his face.')

Chapter 12

Mood Structures

1. Mood Categories

Mood categories are a set of categories which typically indicate (a) the syntactic relation of the clause in which the verb occurs to other clauses in the sentence or (b) the attitude of the speaker toward what he is saying. In Macedonian, we have three types of such categories—imperatives, subjunctives, and conditionals. While the imperatives and conditionals exist in all contemporary Slavic languages, the subjunctives are typically Balkan categories that have spread as alternatives to the lost infinitive.

1.1. Both the loss of the infinitives and its replacement by subjunctives represent the most representative and most widely discussed feature of the Balkan Sprachbund languages. It should, however, be pointed out that there is no uniformity in this replacement. The infinitive has been completely lost in Macedonian, Modern Greek, Arli Balkan Romani, and almost completely in Bulgarian, Aromanian, and the southeastern Serbian dialects. In Megleno-Romanian, it shows up in a limited number of structures, while in standard Serbian and standard Croatian, and to some degree in Romanian, many of the uses of the subjunctives are shared by infinitives. As for Albanian, it is not quite clear whether the Indo-European infinitive was lost at one point and reinstituted (with devices that are distinct from the common Indo-European devices) prior to the publication of the first Albanian written document—Buzuku's *Missal*, published in 1555, or else the Albanian quasi-infinitival structures are not related to infinitives at all (*cf.* Demiraj 1969: 89; Joseph 1983).

1.2. According to Joseph (1983) the loss of the infinitive in Macedonian and Bulgarian was influenced by Greek. Mirčev (1937: 22), however, points out that some of the clauses with infinitives in the Greek Bible were translated into Old Church Slavonic by finite clauses introduced by the complementizer *da*, which shows that the uses of the infinitive and the subjunctive in Greek and Old Church Slavonic differed. Yet, one has to bear in mind that the uses of the infinitive and the subjunctive in Old Church Slavonic were not clearly differentiated. In the early translations of the Bible into Old Church Slavonic (10th and 11th century), clauses with infinitives are used

alongside clauses introduced by the subordinator *da* 'that'.[1] Subsequently, in the Balkan Slavic spoken in the areas in which at the present Bulgarian and Macedonian are spoken, the infinitive lost its infinitival suffix and appeared in a 'short form' (Asenova 2002: 143). From the 16th century onwards, in the South Slavic spoken to the south and east of the Serbian river Timok, the infinitive appeared productively only in clauses expressing futurity, from which it has subsequently also been ousted by subjunctives.

1.3. Currently, in Balkan Slavic, the 'short infinitive' occurs in the formation of the future tense of some standard Serbian verbs and in standard and dialectal Bulgarian clauses expressing prohibition. In Macedonian, the infinitives have been completely lost. Some of their functions are performed by verbal nouns or gerunds with the suffix *-nje*,[2] but most of them are replaced by clauses introduced by subordinators.

1.3.1. Indicative subordinate clauses are introduced by 'that' complementizers.

1.3.1.1. The most frequent Macedonian 'that'-complementizers are *deka* and *oti*, the latter complementizer being borrowed from Greek:[3]

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[1] Krapova (2001: 109) notes that the first Old Church Slavonic clauses with subjunctives were clauses with distinct subjects, such as (i), and clauses with exceptional case marking (ECM), such as (ii):

(i) *Ašte hošťǫ da tъ prebǫdetъ...*
if want.1Sg Subjun.Mark he remain.3Sg
'If I want him to remain...'

(ii) *Ne hoštemъ semu da caruetъ nadъ nami.*
not want.1Pl him Subjun.Mark rule.3Sg above us
'We don't want him to govern us.'

As pointed out by Asenova (2002: 198), when the modality of the complement cannot be deduced from the modality of the main clause, a finite complement is more desirable. In fact, the infinitive might have disappeared in the Balkan Slavic languages even without the disappearance of the infinitive in Greek: the need for speakers of different languages to communicate with each other required transparency and finite clauses are more transparent than infinitives.

[2] Examples of verbal nouns performing functions analogous to those of former infinitives are given in (i–ii):

(i) *Gravot saka dolgo vrienje.*
beans+the.M.Sg want.3Sg long boiling
'The beans need to be boiled long.' (lit. 'The beans want long boiling.')

(ii) *Deteto bara nosenje.*
child+the.N.Sg demand.3Sg carrying
'The child has to be carried.' (lit. 'The child demands to be carried.')

[3] In some eastern Macedonian dialects, *deka* is also used as an interrogative locative adverb with the meaning 'where':

(1) a. *Reče* *deka/oti* *ќe* *dojde.*
say.3Sg that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he said that (s)he would come.'

b. *Da* *im* *kažeš* *deka/oti* *sme* *dobro.*
Subjun.Mark 3Pl.Dat.Cl tell.2Sg.Pf.Pres that be.1Pl well
'You should tell them that we are well.'

1.3.1.2. The locative 'wh' adverb *kade* is also used as an indicative complementizer, though this use is qualified as 'old-fashioned':

(2) *%Deteto* *videlo* *kade* *plače* *majka* *mu.*
child+the.N.Sg seen.N.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part where cry.3Sg mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'The child saw that his mother was crying.'

1.3.1.3. Indicative complement clauses of emotional and factive verbs are introduced by the invariant 'wh' word *što* 'what':[4]

(i) *%Deka* *e* *majka* *ti?*
where be.3Sg mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'Where is your mother?'

In the west-central Macedonian dialects, *oti* is also used as an interrogative adverb with the meaning 'why', as in (ii), or as a subordinator introducing clauses of reason, as in (iii):

(i) *%Oti* *ne* *idiš?*
why not come.2Sg
'Why aren't you coming?'

(ii) *%Si* *odi* *oti* *ќe* *go* *tepam.*
Dat.Refl.Cl go.3Sg because will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl beat.1Sg
'He is leaving because I am going to beat him.'

Thus, a word which has been borrowed as a conjunction has been grammaticalized as an adverb—an unusual directionality of grammaticalization. (As a rule, words of 'higher' word classes are grammaticalized as words of 'lower' word classes; e.g., adverbs and pronouns are grammaticalized as conjunctions.)

[4] In a Macedonian dialect in southern Albania (the Korča/Korçe region) the 'wh' word *šo* 'what' is used in indicative complements of any verb. Topolinjska (1995: 132) gives the following example:

(i) *%...sluši* *šo* *pejat* *i* *igrat.*
hear.3Sg what sing.3Pl and dance.3Pl
'...(s)he heard that they are singing and dancing.'

Note that *što* is usually used as an interrogative or relative word. *Cf.* Chapter 13, entitled "Interrogative Clauses" and chapter 14, entitled "Relative Clauses".

(3) a. *Se* *raduvam* *što* *ve* *gledam.*
Acc.Refl.Cl rejoice.1Sg that 2Pl.Acc.Cl see.1Sg
'I am glad to see you.'

b. *Gi* *iskara* *što* *došle.*
3Pl.Acc.Cl scold.3Sg.Aor what come.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part
'(S)he scolded them for coming.'

1.3.2. Subjunctive clauses are introduced by the subjunctive marker *da*.[5]

(4) a. *Saka* *da* *dojde.*
want.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he wants to come.'

b. *Se* *obiduvam* *da* *zaspijam.*
Acc.Ref.Cl try.1Sg Subjun.Mark fall-asleep.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'I am trying to sleep.'

1.3.3. There are some main verbs that, as a rule, select indicative complementizers, others that always take subjunctive markers, and again others that can take either (with a meaning distinction between the complementizers). Thus, verbs of saying like *veli* 'say' takes the complementizer *deka* or *oti,* when expressing a statement, as in (5a), and the subjunctive marker *da*, when expressing a desire or an intention, as in (5b).

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[5] In older Macedonian, the *da*-complementizer used to introduce indicative clauses, as well. Bužarovska (2002: 98) records the following example from a late 18th century text:

(i) *%Ona* *(devojka)* *se* *vidi* *da* *e* *ot* *carski* *rot.*
that.F girl Acc.Refl.Cl see.3Sg that be.3Sg from royal origin
'One can see that that girl is of royal descent.'

Topolinjska (1995: 139) records the following examples from southwestern Macedonian (spoken in northern Greece):

(ii) *%...velat* *da* *se-j* *izbluval* *krăv.*
say.3Pl that Acc.Refl.Cl+be.3Sg thrown-up.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part blood
'They say that he threw up blood.'

(iii) *%...mislum* *da-j* *taka* *po-arno.*
think.1Sg that+be.3Sg so Compar-good.Adv
'...I think that it is better that way.'

(Glosses and translation are mine.)

(5) a. *Veli* *deka/oti* *ќe* *dojde.*
say.3Sg that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he says that (s)he will come.'

b. *Veli* *da* *odiš.*
say.3Sg Subjun.Mark go.2Sg
'(S)he says that you should go.'

1.3.4. The modal nature of clauses with subjunctive markers has prompted generative analyses in which the subjunctive markers are derived in nodes distinct from C^0, where the indicative complementizers are derived. Joseph and Phillipaki-Warburton (1987) treat the Modern Greek subjunctive marker as a verbal particle, Rudin (1985, 1987) derives the Bulgarian subjunctive marker under the Aux node, Motapanyane (1991) and Terzi (1992) treat the Romanian and Modern Greek subjunctive markers as independent modal heads, and Rivero (1994) treats analogously the Bulgarian, Albanian, Modern Greek, and Romanian subjunctive markers. Note, however, that the head in which the Balkan subjunctive markers are derived should be distinguished from the head in which the modal markers that participate in the formation of the Balkan future tenses are derived. In Tomić (2004a, 2007b) the subjunctive markers are derived in mood nodes to the right of the modality node, where the modal clitics are derived (*cf.* section 6.1 below).

2. Imperatives

Macedonian has imperative clauses with morpholocally marked verbs, which express commands when positive and prohibitions when negated.

2.1. Both perfective and imperfective Macedonian verbs can have imperative mood markers for second person singular or plural.

2.1.1. Non-suffixed verbs with *a* bases and verbs with the imperfective suffixation *-uva* have singular imperative forms in which the semi-vowel *j* is added to the base, while their plural imperative forms are derived by adding the plural number suffix *-te* to the singular imperative form:[6]

[6] The verbs with the suffix *-uva* can in some dialects drop part of this suffix:

(i) *kažuva* say.Impf (i') *%kažuj* say.2Sg.Imper (i'') *%kažujte* say.2Pl.Imper

(ii) *kupuva* buy.Impf (ii') *%kupuj* buy.2Sg.Imper (ii'') *%kupujte* buy.2Pl.Imper

Table 1. Imperative Forms of Verbs with *a* Bases

	Singular	Plural
čita 'read.Impf'	*čitaj*	*čitajte*
vika 'call.Impf'	*vikaj*	*vikajte*
kažuva 'say.Impf'	*kažuvaj*	*kažuvajte*
zboruva 'speak.Impf'	*zboruvaj*	*zboruvajte*

2.1.2. Verbs with *i* or *e* bases whose final vowel is preceded by another vowel derive singular imperative forms by replacing the final vowel by the semi-vowel *j*, and plural imperative forms by adding the plural number suffix *-te* to the singular imperative form:

Table 2. Imperative Forms of Verbs with *i* and *e* Bases, Whose Final Vowel is Preceded by Another Vowel

	Singular	Plural
broi 'count.Impf'	*broj*	*brojte*
stoi 'stand.Impf'	*stoj*	*stojte*
pee 'sing.Impf'	*pej*	*pejte*
zagree 'warm-up.Pf'	*zagrej*	*zagrejte*

2.1.3. The singular imperative forms of verbs with *i* bases whose final vowel is preceded by a consonant are equivalent to the base forms, while in the singular imperative forms of verbs with *e* bases whose final vowel is preceded by a consonant, the vowel *e* is replaced by *i*.[7] The plural imperative markers of all of these verbs are derived by replacing the final vowel of the singular imperative forms by *-ete*.

Table 3. Imperative Forms of Verbs with *i* and *e* Bases, Whose Final Vowel is Preceded by a Consonant

	Singular	Plural
nosi 'carry.Impf'	*nosi*	*nosete*
odi 'go.Impf'	*odi*	*odete*
kaže 'say.Pf'	*kaži*	*kažete*
prede 'carry.Impf'	*predi*	*predete*

[7] The singular and plural imperative forms of *dade* 'give.Pf' are irregular—*daj* and *dajte*, respectively.

skokne 'jump.Pf'	*skokni*	*skoknete*
vikne 'shout.Pf'	*vikni*	*viknete*

2.2. While in commands, i.e., in positive imperative clauses, forms from either imperfective or perfective verbs can be used, prohibitions, i.e., negated imperative clauses, as a rule, employ only forms of imperfective verbs:[8]

(6) a_1 *Čitaj* *mi* *ja* *knigava!*
read.2Sg.Impf.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl book+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'Read this book to me!'

a_2 *Pročitaj* *mi* *ja*
read-through.2Sg.Pf.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
knigava!
book+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'Read this book through to me!'

[8] Prohibition can also be expressed by subjunctive structures with *da* plus perfective or imperfective verbs, in complement positions of the negative verb *nemoj,* which itself is a frozen negative imperative form of the verb *može* 'can'. The verb *nemoj* has a singular number form, but can be followed by subjunctive structures with second person verbs of any number. When followed by structures with plural verbs, it may, however, have a plural suffix:

(i) *Nemoj* *da* *go* *zemeš!*
not+can.2Sg.Imper Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'Don't take it!'

(ii) *Nemoj* *da* *odiš* *tamo!*
not+can.2Sg.Imper Subjun.Mark go.2Sg.Impf.Pres there
'Don't go there!'

(iii) *Nemoj/* *nemojte* *da* *go*
not+can.2Sg.Imper not+can.2Pl.Imper Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
zemate!
take.2Pl.Impf.Pres
'Don't take it!'

Note that clauses in which the negative verb *nemoj* is followed by subjunctive structures with forms of 'be' plus *l*-participles, such as (iv), express threats:

(iv) *Nemoj* *da* *si* *pisnal* *za* *ova!*
not+can.2Sg.Imper Subjun.Mark be.2Sg screamed.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part for this.N.Sg
'Don't you dare let out a squeak about this!' (lit. Don't you dare scream for this!')

(6) a_3 *Ne čitaj/ *pročitaj mi*
not read.2Sg.Impf.Imper read.2Sg.Pf.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl

ja knigava!
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl book+the.F.Sg.Prox1

'Don't read this book to me!'

b_1 *Kažuvaj mu go ova nemu!*
tell.2Sg.Impf.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl this.N him.Dat

'Keep telling this to him!'

b_2 *Kaži mu go ova nemu!*
tell.2Sg.Pf.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl this.N him.Dat

'Tell this to him!'

b_3 *Ne kažuvaj/ *kaži mu*
not tell.2Sg.Impf.Imper tell.2Sg.Pf.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl

go ova nemu!
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl this.N him.Dat

'Don't tell this to him!'

c_1 *Zemajte što sakate!*
take.2Pl.Impf.Imper what want.2Pl.Pres

'Keep taking whatever you want!'

c_2 *Zemete što sakate!*
take.2Pl.Pf.Imper what want.2Pl.Pres

'Take whatever you want!'

c_3 *Ne zemajte/ *zemete ništo!*
not take.2Sg.Impf.Imper take.2Sg.Pf.Imper nothing

'Don't take anything!'

2.2.1. Both perfective and imperfective forms can be used in positive or negated clauses expressing threats:

(7) a. *Zemi go, pa ќe vidiš*
take.2Sg.Pf.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl and will.Mod.Cl see.2Sg.Pf.Pres

što ќe ti storam!
what will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl do.1Sg.Pf.Pres

'Take it and you will see what I shall do to you!'

(7) b. *Ne zemi go, pa ќe vidiš*
not take.2Sg.Pf.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl and will.Mod.Cl see.2Sg.Pf.Pres
što ќe ti storam!
what will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl do.1Sg.Pres
'Don't take it, and you will see what I shall do to you!'

c. *Ne kaži mu go ova nemu.*
not tell.Sg.Pf.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl this.N him.Dat
'You will see what would happen/how he would react if you tell him this.' (lit. 'Don't tell him this!')

2.2.2. Imperative forms of both imperfective and perfective verbs can relate not only to second, but also to first and third person subjects to express habitual actions without reference to time:[9]

(8) a. *Toj reči, nie skokni.*
he say.2Sg.Pf.Imper we jump.2Sg.Pf.Imper
'We do immediately whatever he says.' (lit. 'He says, we jump.')

b. *Tie vikaj, toj smej se.*
they shout.2Sg.Impf.Imper he laugh.2Sg.Impf.Imper Acc.Refl.Cl
'He was laughing while they were shouting.' (lit. 'They shout, he laughs.')

2.2.3. The imperative form can also occur in clauses expressing future, past, or habitual eventualities:[10]

(9) a. *Čekaj dožd.*
wait.2Sg.Imper rain
'It will rain.' (lit. 'Wait for rain!')

b. *Toj legni, jas stani.*
he lie-down.2Sg.Imper I get-up.2Sg.Imper
'I was getting up when he was going to bed.' (lit. 'He is ging to bed, I am getting up.')

---

[9] As a rule, in this case, there are two clauses with singular imperative forms in a row.

[10] The habitual eventualities are often introduced by the 2nd imperative form of the verb *čini* 'do'. In (9c) this form refers to a singular subject, but it may refer to plural subjects, as well.

(9) c. *Toj čini dojdi, najadi se*
he do.2Sg.Imper come.2Sg.Imper eat-up.2Sg.Imper Acc.Refl.Cl
i odi si.
and go.2Sg.Imper Dat.Refl.Cl
'He would come, eat, and leave.'

2.2.4. In some cases, the use of the imperative form for expressing commands is obliterated. The following examples are from Koneski (1967: 417):[11]

(10) a. *Čekaj si ako nemaš rabota.*
wait.2Sg.Impf.Imper Dat.Refl.Cl if not+have.2Sg work
'You can wait if you have nothing else to do.'

b. *Ako sakaš da odiš odi, mene*
if want.2Sg Subjun.Mark go.3Sg go.2Sg.Impf.Imper me.Acc
mi se spie!
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl sleep.3Sg
'If you want to go go; I feel like sleeping!'

c. *Odi kaj odiš, doma*
go.2Sg.Impf.Imper where go.2Sg.Impf.Pres home
dojdi si!
come.2Sg.Pf.Imper Dat.Refl.Cl
'(You can) go wherever you want, but come back home!'

2.3. The position of pronominal clitics in Macedonian imperative clauses differs from their position in prototypical indicative clauses, in which V is instantiated by a tensed verb or *l*-participle. As exemplified in (11), in the former case, pronominal clitics follow the verb, whereas in the latter case they precede it:

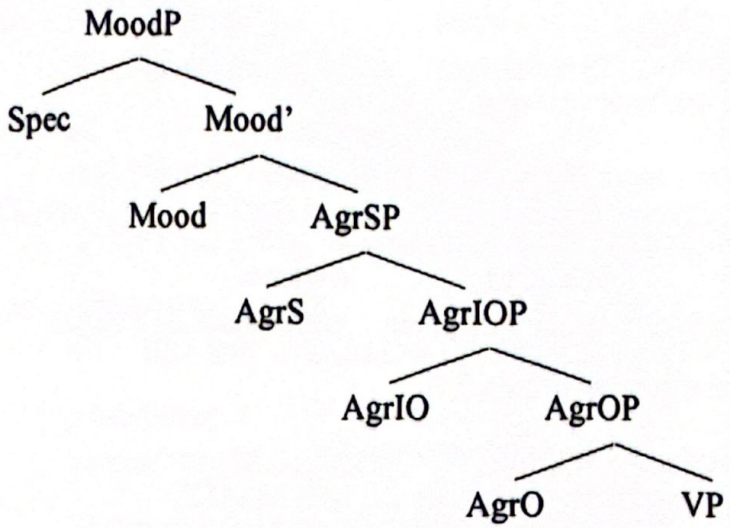
(11) a. *Daj mu go podarokot!*
give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl present+the.M.Sg
'Give him the present!'

b. *Mu go dade podarokot.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor present+the.M.Sg
'(S)he gave him the present.'

[11] The glosses and translation are mine.

2.3.1. The position of the Macedonian clitics relative to the imperative verb is due to the strength of a Mood operator, which in imperative clauses is to the left of AgrSP—itself to the left of the indirect object and direct object agreement phrases AgrIOP and AgrOP, where the pronominal clitics are derived. Accordingly, (11a) would have the following structure:

(12)



2.3.2. In Tomić (2007a) I argue that the verb moves to Mood, attracted by its strong features. Subsequently, in PF, the moved imperative verb and the pronominal clitics, which in syntax sit in their base-derived positions, form a single phonological word with the antepenultimate stress pattern characteristic for the language.

2.3.3. The given syntactic analysis is supported by the fact that the strength of mood has a distinct phonological reflex. Namely, whereas in indicative clauses the pronominal clitics procliticize to a verb whose stress is the same as in clauses without clitics, in imperative clauses the verb and the clitics form a single antepenultimately stressed phonological word, and the stress of the verb is often different from the stress it has when not followed by clitics.[12]

3. Forms of Verbs Used in Subjunctive and Conditional Clauses

There is often a difference between the forms of the verbs that occur in subjunctive and conditional clauses and those that occur in indicative clauses.

3.1. In indicative clauses, only present tense forms of imperfective verbs are used, while subjunctive and conditional clauses employ present tense forms of both

[12] *Cf.* section 6.2 in chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology".

imperfective and perfective verbs.[13] Thus, we have the following acceptability judgements:

(13) a. *(Mu)* *ja* *čitam/* **pročitam*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.1Sg.Impf.Pres read.1Sg.Pf.Pres
knigava.
book+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'I am reading the book (to him).'

b. *Sakam* *da* *mu* *ja*
wish.1Sg.Impf.Pres Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
čitam/ *pročitam* *knigava.*
read.1Sg.Impf.Pres read.1Sg.Pf.Pres book+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'I want to read the book to him.'

c_1 *Ako* *čitaš* *vnimatelno,* *ḱe*
if read.2Sg.Impf.Pres carefully will.Mod.Cl
razbereš *sè.*
understand.2Sg.Pf.Pres everything
'If you read carefully, you will understand everything.'

c_2 *Ako* *ja* *pročitaš* *knigava,*
if 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.2Sg.Pf.Pres book+the.F.Sg.Prox1
ḱe *ti* *kupam* *druga.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl buy.1Sg.Pf.Pres another
'If you finish reading this book, I will buy you another one.'

(14) a. *Ti* *davam/* **dadam* *golem* *podarok.*
2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Impf.Pres give.1Sg.Pf.Pres big present
'I am giving you a big present.'

---

[13] Both imperfective and perfective present tense forms can also occur in negative interrogative clauses, but their acceptability differs. Thus, while in the negative interrogative clause in (i), both imperfective and perfective verbs are accepted, in the positive interrogative clause in (ii), only perfective verbs are accepted:

(i) *Zošto* *ne* *ja* *čitaš/* *pročitaš* *knigava?*
why not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.2Sg.Impf.Pres read.2Sg.Pf.Pres book+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'Why don't you read the book?'

(ii) *Zošto* *ja* *čitaš/* **pročitaš* *knigava?*
why 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.2Sg.Impf.Pres read.2Sg.Pf.Pres book+the.F.Sg.Prox1
'Why are you reading the book?'

(14) b. *Treba* *da* *davam/* *dadam*
have.1Sg Subjun.Mark give.1Sg.Impf.Pres give.1Sg.Pf.Pres

skapi *podaroci.*
expensive.Pl presents

'I should be giving/give expensive presents.'

c_1 *Ako* *davame* *skapi* *podaroci,*
if give.1Pl.Impf.Pres expensive.Pl presents

ќe *ostaneme* *bez* *pari.*
will.Mod.Cl remain.1Pl.Pf.Pres without money

'If we keep giving expensive presents we shall be moneyless.'

c_2 *Ako* *nemu* *mu* *go* *dademe*
if him.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Pl.Pf.Pres

podarokov, *ќe* *se* *zagubi.*
present+the.M.Sg.Prox1 will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl lose.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'If we give the present to him, it will get lost.'

(15) a. *Postojano* *naoǵa/* **najde* *problemi.*
incessantly find.3Sg.Impf.Pres find.3Sg.Pf.Pres problems

'(S)he is incessantly finding problems.'

b. *Saka* *da* *naoǵa/* *najde*
want.3Sg Subjun.Mark keep-finding.3Sg.Impf.Pres find.3Sg.Pf.Pres

problemi.
problems

'(S)he wants to keep finding/find problems.'

(16) a. *Ti* *ne* *doaǵaš/* **dojdeš* *vamu*
you.2Sg not come.2Sg.Impf.Pres come.2Sg.Pf.Pres here

sekoj *den.*
every day

'You are not coming here every day.'

b. *Ne* *treba* *da* *doaǵaš/*
not need.3Sg Subjun.Mark keep-coming.2Sg.Impf.Pres

dojdeš *vamu.*
come.2Sg.Pf.Pres here

'You needn't keep coming/come here.'

3.2. Subjunctive and conditional clauses also employ past tense forms of both imperfective and perfective verbs. The past tense forms of the imperfective verbs in these clauses are equivalent to the forms of the imperfect tense of indicative clauses; in both cases we have imperfect past tense forms of imperfective verbs. The past tense forms of the perfective verbs used in Macedonian subjunctive and conditional clauses, on the other hand, have the endings *-v, -še, -še, -vme, -vte, -a,* typical for the imperfect past tense; they are actually forms of the imperfect of perfective verbs,[14] which differ from the forms of the aorist of these verbs. Compare the past tense forms in ($17a_1$) and ($18a_1$) to the past tense forms in ($17b_1$) and ($18b_1$), and the past tense forms in ($17a_2$) and ($18a_2$) to the past tense forms in ($17b_2$) and ($18b_2$).[15]

(17) a_1 *Petre go čitaše pismoto.*
Petre 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Impf.Imperf letter+the.N.Sg
'Petre was reading the letter.'

a_2 *Petre go pročita pismoto.*
Petre 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Pf.Aor letter+the.N.Sg
'Petre read the letter.'

b_1 *Da/ ako beše ovde, ќe go čitaše pismoto.*
Subjun.Mark if be.2/3Sg.Impf.Imperf here will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl read.2/3Sg.Impf.Imperf letter+the.N.Sg
'Had you/(s)he been here, you/(s)he would have been reading the letter.'

b_2 *Da/ ako beše ovde, ќe go pročitaše pismoto.*
Subjun.Mark if be.2/3Sg.Impf.Imperf here will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl read.2/3Sg.Pf.Imperf letter+the.N.Sg.
'Had you/(s)he been here, you/(s)he would have read the letter.'

(18) a_1 *Petre gledaše što se slučuva.*
Petre see.3Sg.Impf.Imperf what Acc.Refl.Cl happen.3Sg.Impf.Pres
'Petre was seeing what was happening.'

---

[14] *Cf.* section 3 in chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses". In literary writings through the first half of the twentieth century, these forms occurred in indicative clauses (*cf.* Koneski 1967: 423).

[15] The subjunctive and conditional structures with past tense forms are most often used in counterfactual sentences. The structures with the modal clitic *ќe* 'will' are actually reduced subjunctive structures (*cf.* section 6.1 below).

(18) a_2 *Petre vide što se slučuvaše.*
Petre see.3Sg.Pf.Aor what Acc.Refl.Cl happen.3Sg.Imperf
'Petre saw what was happening.'

b_1 *Da/ ako gledaše, ќe*
Subjun.Mark if see/look.3Sg.Impf.Imperf will.Mod.Cl
ja videše.
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Pf.Imperf
'Had (s)he been looking, (s)he would have seen her.'

b_2 *Da/ ako ja videše,*
Subjun.Mark if 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Pf.Imperf
ќe ni kažeše.
will.Mod.Cl 1Pl.Dat.Cl say.3Sg.Pf.Imperf
'Had (s)he seen her, (s)he would have told us.'

3.3. While aorist *l*-participles are used in both indicative and subjunctive structures, their present-base counterparts (called by some authors imperfect-based) are used only in subjunctive structures:[16]

(19) a. *Ne ste našle/ *najdele ništo.*
not be.2Pl found.Pl.Aor.*l*-Part found.Pl.Pres-based.*l*-Part nothing
'Reportedly, you didn't find anything.'[17]

b. *Da/ ako ste go najdele/*
Subjun.Mark if be.2Pl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl found.Pl.Pres-based.*l*-Part
našle, ќe ste im go
found.Pl.Aor.*l*-Part will.Mod.Cl be.2Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
dadele/ dale.
given.Pl.Pres-based.*l*-Part found.Pl.Aor.*l*-Part
'As reported, if you had found it, you would have given it to them.'

3.4. The aorist-based *l*-participles of verbs of the *a* type, with *a* before the endings both in the imperfect and the aorist, have the same form as the present/imperfect-based *l*-participles, namely *-al, -ala, -alo, -ale*. On the other hand, verbs of the *e* and *i*

[16] The aorist and present-based participles are discussed in section 4.2 of chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

[17] The *l*-participles signal reportedness. *Cf* section 10 of chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

types have *e* before the imperfect tense endings, so that the imperfect tense has a different vowel from the aorist. For *e* and *i*-base verbs, the present/imperfect-based *l*-participle likewise has *e* and, accordingly, ends in *-el, -ela, -elo, -ele*; it thus differs from the aorist-based *l*-participle. As examples, past tense forms and masculine singular participles of the verbs *pročita* 'read.Pf'—an *a* type verb, *dade* 'give.Pf'—an *e* type verb, and *skrši* 'break.Pf'—an *i* type verb, are given in Table 4:

Table 4. Past Tense Forms and Participles of *pročita* 'read.Pf', *dade* 'give.Pf', and *skrši* 'break.Pf'

***pročita* 'read.Pf'**

	Imperfect		Aorist	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*pročitav*	*pročitavme*	*pročitav*	*pročitavme*
2nd	*pročitaše*	*pročitavte*	*pročita*	*pročitavte*
3rd	*pročitaše*	*pročitaa*	*pročita*	*pročitaa*
	l-participle: *pročital*		*l*-participle: *pročital*	

***dade* 'give.Pf'**

	Imperfect		Aorist	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*dadev*	*dadevme*	*dadov*	*dadovme*
2nd	*dadeše*	*dadevte*	*dade*	*dadovte*
3rd	*dadeše*	*dadea*	*dade*	*dadoa*
	l-participle: *dadel*		*l*-participle: *dal*	

***skrši* 'break.Pf'**

	Imperfect		Aorist	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*skršev*	*skrševme*	*skršiv*	*skršivme*
2nd	*skršeše*	*skrševte*	*skrši*	*skršivte*
3rd	*skršeše*	*skršea*	*skrši*	*skršija*
	l-participle: *skršel*		*l*-participle: *skršil*	

3.5. The verb 'be' has a set of perfective present tense forms and a set of perfective imperfect forms developed from the Common Slavic verb *byti*, which are used only in subjunctive structures and may be referred to as subjunctive present and imperfect forms. Their behavior differs not only from the behaviour of the clitic imperfective present tense set of 'be' forms, which developed from the Common Slavic

verb *jesmь*, and their imperfective imperfect counterparts, which, like the subjunctive 'be' forms, developed from *byti*,[18] but also from the behavior of two sets of imperfective 'be' forms, which are formed by extending the base of the subjunctive forms with the suffix *-uva* and are used only in indicative contexts.[19]

3.5.1. The present tense 'be' clitics and their imperfect counterparts, to which we may refer as basic 'be' forms, the subjunctive 'be' forms, and the forms formed by extending the base of the subjunctive 'be' forms with the suffix *-uva*, which might be called consequential 'be' forms, since they describe the happening of some eventualities as a conesquence of some other eventualities,[20] are given in Table 5:

Table 5. Paradigms of the Macedonian Verb 'be' [21]

'Basic' Forms

	Present Tense		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*sum*	*sme*	*bev*	*bevme*
2nd	*si*	*ste*	*beše*	*bevte*
3rd	*e*	*se*	*beše*	*bea*
	l-participle: *bil*			

[18] Both of these sets of 'be' forms are used both in indicative and in subjunctive clauses.

[19] In addition to serving as a base for the derivation of these forms, the subjunctive 'be' forms and the imperfect counterparts of the clitic present tense 'be' forms, the Common Slavic verb *byti* served as a basis for the derivation of (a) the imperative forms *bidi* '2Sg.Imper' and *bidete* '2Pl.Imper', (b) the *l*-participles *bil* for M.Sg, *bila* for F.Sg, *bilo* for N.Sg, *bile* for Pl, and (c) the passive participles *biden* for M.Sg, *bidena* for F.Sg, *bideno* for N.Sg, *bideni* for Pl.

[20] The usage of the consequential 'be' forms is illustrated in (i–iv):

(i) *I na krajot ti biduvaš izbran.*
and at end+the.M.Sg you be.2Sg.Impf.Pres elected.Pass.Part
'And at the end (of everything done) you are elected.'

(ii) *Taa rabota ne biduva.*
that.F job not be.3Sg.Impf.Pres
'That wouldn't work.' (lit. 'That job does not be.')

(iii) *Biduvaše li da go storiš toa?*
be.3Sg.Impf.Imperf Inter.Cl Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.2Sg.Pf.Pres that.N
'You shouldn't have done that.' (lit. 'Was it O.K for you to do that?')

(iv) *Biduvalo (li) taka?*
be.N.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part Inter.Cl so
'Is it all right to do that?!' (lit. 'Be so?!')

[21] The three types of pairs of 'be' forms have distinct participles, the masculine singular forms of which are also given in this table.

Subjunctive Forms

	Present tense		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*bidam*	*bideme*	*bidev*	*bidevme*
2nd	*bideš*	*bidete*	*bideše*	*bidevte*
3rd	*bide*	*bidat*	*bideše*	*bidea*
	l-participle: *bidel*			

Consequential Forms

	Present tense		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*biduvam*	*biduvame*	*biduvav*	*biduvavme*
2nd	*biduvaš*	*biduvate*	*biduvaše*	*biduvavte*
3rd	*biduva*	*biduvaat*	*biduvaše*	*biduvaa*
	l-participle: *biduval*			

3.5.2. When used in subjunctive structures, the basic 'be' forms can appear in the same environments in which the subjunctive 'be' forms are used. But, as it can be seen in the translations of the examples in (20), there are differences in the meanings of the paired clauses: while the clauses with basic 'be' forms simply state the facts, the clauses with subjunctive 'be' forms denote intents.

(20) a_1 *Treba* *sekogaš* *da* *si* *točen.*
should.3Sg always Subjun.Mark be.2Sg.Impf.Pres punctual.M.Sg
'You should always be punctual.'

a_2 *Treba* *sekogaš* *da* *bideš* *točen.*
should.3Sg always Subjun.Mark be.2Sg.Pf.Pres punctual.M.Sg
'You should always make an effort to be punctual.'

b_1 *Ḱe* *ste* *bile* *dobri* *ovoj* *pat.*
will.Mod.Cl be.2Pl been.Impf.*l*-Part good.Pl this.M.Sg time
'You will reportedly be good this time.'

b_2 *%Ḱe* *ste* *bidele* *dobri* *ovoj* *pat.*
will.Mod.Cl be.2Pl been.Pf.*l*-Part good.Pl this.M.Sg time
'You will reportedly make an effort to be good this time.'

(20) c_1 *Ḱe* *beše* *poarno*
will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Impf.Imperf Compar.Mark+good.Adv

da *beše* *tivka.*
Subjun.Mark be.2/3Sg.Impf.Imperf quiet.F.Sg

'It would have been better if you/she were quiet.'

c_2 *%Ḱe* *bideše* *poarno*
will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Pf.Imperf Compar.Mark+good.Adv

da *bideše* *tivka.*
Subjun.Mark be.2/3Sg.Pf.Imperf quiet.F.Sg

'It would have been better if you/she had made an effort to be quiet.'

4. Typical Uses of Subjunctive Structures

As in other Balkan Sprachbund languages, the subjunctive structures are typically used (a) as complements of modal verbs, (b) as complements of a group of verbs including control verbs such as *se obiduva* 'try', causatives such as *tera* 'force',[22] volitional verbs such as *saka* 'want', inchoatives such as *počnuva* 'begin', and intentional verbs such as *%namerava* 'intend', *planira* 'plan', *se gotvi* 'prepare', *izbegnuva* 'avoid', *zapoveduva* 'order', and *preporačuva* 'suggest', all of which may go under the general name of intentional verbs,[23] and (c) in specific environments of verbs of

[22] Rivero (1995: 25) notes that causatives usually take subjunctive structures with Exceptional Case Marking.

[23] Verbs of knowledge, thinking, saying, and asking, which in their epistemic sense usually take indicative complements, can express an attitude and take subjunctive complements. Compare the reading of the verbs *znae* 'know' and *misli* 'think' in the sentences with indicative complements to their readings in the sentences with subjunctive complements:

(i') *Znam* *deka* *obično* *doaǵa* *docna.*
know.1Sg that usually come.3Sg late
'I know that (s)he usually comes late.'

(i") *Znae* *da* *dojde* *docna.*
know.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres late
'(S)he can come late.' (i.e., 'It is not unusual that (s)he comes late.')

(ii') *Mislam* *deka* *ne* *doaǵa* *so* *nas.*
think.1Sg that not come.3Sg with us.Acc
'I think that (s)he is not coming with us.'

(ii") *Mislam* *da* *dojdam.*
think.1Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'I intend to come.'

perception. The verb of the subjunctive structures can, but need not, agree in person and number with the verb of the main clause. Whenever such an agreement occurs, there is 'equi' deletion and only one subject surfaces—in unmarked sentences, to the left of the main verb. When the subject of the subjunctive structure is different from the subject of the main clause, it surfaces to the left of the subjunctive marker or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive structure. Pronominal subjects are dropped, unless emphatic. The subjunctive marker is always adjacent to the verb. The negation marker always follows the subjunctive marker and pronominal clitics occur to the right of it.

4.1. Subjunctive Structures as Complements of Lexical Modal Verbs

There are five lexical modal verbs as complements of which the subjunctive structures in Macedonian occur: *može* 'can/be able/be possible/may', *mora* 'must', *smee* 'dare/may/be allowed', *treba* 'should/ought/need', *ima* 'have'. The verbs *može* 'can/be able/may/be possible', *mora* 'must', *smee* 'dare/may/be allowed', and *ima* 'have' can have subjunctive complements both as impersonal and as personal verbs,[24] whereas the verb *treba* 'should/ought/need/be necessary' takes subjunctive structures only as an impersonal verb.[25] The subjunctive complements of impersonal modal verbs can have any person/number features, irrespective of the person/number features of the modal verb, whereas the subjunctive complements of personal verbs have joint reference with the verb in their complement. All the modal verbs are imperfective and can have present or past tense imperfective forms, while their complements can have perfective or imperfective verbs, but cannot have past tense forms.

A variety of verbs, which in their basic readings take indicative complements, can have inchoative intentional readings and take subjunctive complements. Such are the verbs *faќa* (with basic reading 'catch'), *zema* (with basic reading 'take'), *trgnuva* (with basic reading 'set off'), *stanuva* (with basic reading 'get up'), *skoknuva* (with basic reading 'jump'). In (iii) all of these verbs have the reading 'start' and take a subjunctive complement:

(iii) *Zede/fati/trgna/stana/skokna* *da* *trča.*
start.3Sg.Aor Subjun.Mark run.3Sg
'(S)he started running.'

[24] Impersonal verbs have third person singular, present, or past tense suffixes.

[25] As a personal verb, with the meaning 'need', this verb occurs in structures with Dat NP/DP complements:

(i) *Ti* *trebam* *li?*
2Sg.Dat.Cl need.1Sg.Pres Inter.Cl
'Do you need me?'

(ii) *Ne* *mi* *trebaš* *TI,* *Petko* *mi* *treba.*
not 1Sg.Dat.Cl need.2Sg.Pres you Petko 1Sg.Dat.Cl need.3Sg.Pres
'I do not need YOU, I need Petko.'

4.1.1. The use of subjunctive structures as complements of the personal modal verbs *može* 'can/be able', *smee* 'dare/be allowed', *mora* 'must', and *ima* 'have'[26] is illustrated in (21):

(21) a. *Ne možeš da go vidiš.*
not can/be-able.2Sg.Pres Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'You cannot/aren't able to see him/it.'

b. *Ne smeat da ne poglednat.*
not dare/be-allowed.3Pl.Pres Subjun.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl look-at.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'They don't dare/aren't allowed to look at us.'

c. *Moravme da mu go dademe.*
must.1Pl.Imperf Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'We had to give it to him.'

d. *%Imam da peram.*
have.1Sg.Pres Subjun.Mark wash.1Sg.Impf.Pres
'I have some washing to do.' (lit. 'I have to wash.')

4.1.2. The use of subjunctive structures as complements of the impersonal modal verbs *može* 'can/be possible', *mora* 'must', and *smee* 'may/be allowed' is illustrated in (22):[27]

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[26] The use of *ima* 'have' as a personal verb that takes a subjunctive complement is dialectal. In standard Macedonian, the personal verb *ima* 'have' takes as a complement a prepositional phrase with a verbal noun derived by adding the suffix *-nje* to the former infinitival base of the verb:

(i) *Imam za perenje.*
have.1Sg.Pres for washing
'I have some washing to do.'

[27] The subjunctive complements of the verb *smee* 'may/be allowed' and the imperfect forms of the verbs *može* 'can/be possible' and *mora* 'must' have to be impersonal.

(22) a_1 *Može* *da* *dojdete/*
can/be possible.3Sg.Pres Subjun.Mark come.2Pl.Pf.Pres

dojdat.
come.3Pl.Pf.Pres

'It is possible for them/you to come.'

a_2 *Možeše* *da* *se*
can/be possible.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl

vleguva.
enter.3Sg.Impf.Pres

1. 'It was possible to enter.'
2. 'One could enter.'

b_1 *Mora* *da* *završite/* *završime*
must.3Sg.Pres Subjun.Mark finish.2Pl.Pf.Pres finish.1Pl.Pf.Pres

na *vreme.*
on time

'You/we have to finish on time.'

b_2 *Moraše* *da* *se* *dojde.*
must.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl come.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'One had to come.'

c_1 *Ovde* *smee* *da* *se* *puši.*
here be-allowed.3Sg.Pres Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl smoke.3Sg.Pres

1. 'It is allowed to smoke here.'
2. 'One may smoke here.'

c_2 *Ovde* *ne* *smeeše* *da* *se*
here not be-allowed.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl

puši.
smoke.3Sg.Pres

1. 'It was not allowed to smoke here.'
2. 'One could not smoke here.'

4.1.3. The use of subjunctive structures as complements of the present and past tense modal verb *treba* 'should/ought/need/be necessary' is illustrated in (23):[28]

[28] In (23a) the pronominal subject of the verb in the subjunctive structure is dropped; nothing but negation, pronominal, and auxiliary clitics can occur between the subjunctive marker and the verb. In (23b) the nominal subject of the subjunctive structure occurs to the left of the main

(23) a. *Treba* *da* *dojdam/*
should/need.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark come.1Sg. Pf. Pres

dojdeš.
come.2Sg.Pf.Pres

'I/you should/ought/need to come.'

b. *Petko* *trebaše* *toa* *da* *mu*
Petko should/ought.3Sg.Imperf that.N Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl

go *kaže.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl say.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'Petko should have told him that.'

4.1.4. Clauses in which subjunctive structures occur as complements of the impersonal modal verb *ima* 'have', most often express obligation, but with complements with first person subjects they may also express a duty.[29] Examples:

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verb. Focused subjects can, however, occur between the main verb and the subjunctive structure (*cf.* (i)) or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive structure (*cf.* (ii)). The position of focused subjects is discussed in section 1.1 in chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause").

(i) *Trebaše* *PETKO* *toa* *da* *mu* *go*
should.3Sg.Imperf Petko that.N Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

kaže.
say.3Sg.Pf.Pres

(ii) *Trebaše* *toa* *da* *mu* *go*
should.3Sg.Imperf that.N Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

kaže *PETKO.*
say.3Sg.Pf.Pres Petko

'It is Petko who should have told him that.'

[29] According to Blaže Koneski (1967), subjunctive structures as complements of the impersonal verb *ima* 'have' are productive variants of the more common structures expressing futurity, constructed by the invariant modal clitic *ќе*, plus present tense forms of lexical or auxiliary verbs (*cf.* section 6.3 below). Kiril Koneski (1997) also notes that positive futurity is expressed by *ima* plus subjunctive structures, though considerably less often than with *ќе* plus present tense forms of lexical or auxiliary verbs. Nevertheless, the use of the sequence *ima* + subjunctive structures for the expression of futurity is very rare in actual usage. In Kate Minnis' (2004) survey of variation in the Macedonian future, out of 709 structures expressing futurity in a variety of literary texts and newspapers, there were only the following two clauses with *ima* plus subjunctive structure expressing futurity:

(i) *Ama* *vo* *Xogvorts* *ima* *da* *ti* *bide* *super...*
but in Xogvorts have.3Sg Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Pf.Pres great

'But at Hogwarts it will be great for you...'

(24) a. *Ima* *da* *dojdat!*
have.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'They have to come!'

b. *Ima* *da* *go* *zememe!*
have.3Sg Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl take.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'We shall have to take it!'

4.1.4.1. When negated, the impersonal modal verb *ima* 'have' becomes a distinct lexical unit—*nema* 'not have', whose association with subjunctive structures has meanings distinct from that of *ima* + subjunctive structure.

4.1.4.2. Clauses in which subjunctive structures (with present tense verb forms) occur as complements of the negative impersonal modal verb *nema* 'not have' are a preferred alternative to negated futurity with the modal clitic *ќе* 'will' (*cf.* 6.3 below):[30]

(25) a. *Nema* *da* *dojdat.*
not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'They won't come.'

b. *Nema* *da* *go* *zemeš.*
not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'You won't take it (I guess).'

4.1.4.3. Subjunctive structures with present tense verb forms in complement position of the negative impersonal modal verb *nema* 'not have' can also denote strong deter-

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(ii) *...mu* *velea* *deka* *ima* *da* *bide*
3Sg.Dat.Cl say.3Pl.Impf.Imperf that have.3Sg Subjun.Mark be.3Sg.Pf.Pres
super.
great
'they were telling him that it will be great...'

The expression of futurity is in these cases stylistically marked and imparts the decisiveness or readiness of the speaker for the completion of the action.

[30] In Common Slavic, the impersonal modal verb *iměti* 'have' plus infinitives was used for the expression of futurity (*cf.* Stieber 1973). From the 11th century onward, the use of forms of the verb *xətěti/xotěti* 'want' began to spread and only the negated forms of *iměti* 'have' were and still are used in structures representing negated futurity. In Kate Minnis' (2004) survey of variation in the Macedonian future tense, negative futurity was expressed by *nema* 'not+have' plus subjunctive structure in 80 per cent of the cases.

mination (if the verb is in the first person) or prohibition (if the verb is in the second or third person):[31]

(26) a. *Nema* *da* *dojdam!*
not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'I am not coming!'

b. *Nema* *da* *go* *zemeš!*
not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'I forbid you to take it!' (lit. 'You are not to take it!')

c. *Nema* *da* *dojdat!*
not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'I forbid them to come!' (lit. 'They are not to come!')

4.1.4.4. The sequence *nema* 'not+have' plus subjunctive structure can include past tense signals, which in standard Macedonian are attached to *nema*, as in (27a), but in the southwestern dialects the past tense signals can be attached either to *nema* or to the verb in the subjunctive structure, as in (27b), though not to both verbs:[32]

(27) a. *Nemaše* *da* *go* *zeme.*
not+have.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Pf.Pres

b. *%Nema* *da* *go* *zemeše.*
not+have.3Sg.Pres Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Pf.Imperf

c. **Nemaše* *da* *go*
not+have.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
zemeše.
take.3Sg.Pf.Imperf
'(In all probability), (s)he would not have taken it.'

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[31] The prohibition expressed through *nema* 'not+have' plus subjunctive structure has components of spite or defiance and is, thus, distinct from the prohibition expressed through the negated imperative forms *nemoj* + *da* and *nemojte* + *da* (*cf.* footnote 8).

[32] As pointed out by Wayles Browne (personal communication), in this respect Macedonian differs from English, where constructions such as 'had been going to have seen' do exist.

Note that in both (27a) and (27b) we have a possibility that failed to be realized and the verb expression is actually an alternative counterpart of the future-in-the-past tense with the modal clitic *ќе* (*cf.* section 6.3 below), which is most often used in *irrealis* conditional sentences (*cf.* section 7 below).

4.1.4.5. In Tomić 2004e the underlying structure of clauses such as those in (27b) has been treated as a negation operator:

(28) $[_{NegP}$ NP/DP$_i$ $[_{Neg}$ *nema* $[_{ModP}$ t_i da $[_{T/AgrSP}$ t_i $[_{VP}$ t_i V]]]]]

4.2. Subjunctive Structures as Complements of Intentional Verbs

When used as complements of intentional verbs, the subjunctive structures (or, more precisely, their subjects) can have joint or disjoint reference with the main clauses.[33] As a matter of fact, with respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive complements, intentional verbs fall into three classes: (A) verbs that have joint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g., *planira* 'plan', *se obiduva* 'try'), (B) verbs that have disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g., *zapoveduva* 'order', *sugerira* 'suggest', *kani* 'invite'), and (C) verbs that may have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g., *saka* 'want', *planira* 'plan'). While the complex sentences with subjunctive complements that have disjoint reference with their respective matrix clauses are biclausal, the complex sentences with subjunctive complements that have joint reference with their respective matrix clauses are monoclausal restructuring structures with two finite verbs (*cf.* Tomić 2004a). The predicates that can take both subjunctive complements that have joint reference with their matrix clauses and subjunctive complements that have disjoint reference with their matrix clauses are monoclausal restructuring structures in the former case and biclausal structures in the latter.[34] In all cases, the intentional verbs can occur in any tense, whereas the verbs in the subjunctive structures have to be in the present tense.

4.2.1. The verbs of class (A) are subject control verbs and the subjects of subjunctive structures that occur in their complements are, as a rule, dropped.[35]

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[33] Krapova (2001) makes a distinction between (a) subjunctive structures which can take any person/number value, irrespective of the agreement within the matrix clause and (b) subjunctive structures with anaphoric subjects, which impose a strict identity condition on the agreement specification of the matrix and the embedded verbs. She argues that the former subjunctive structures have pro subjects, while the latter structures have PRO subjects.

[34] In the western Romance languages, which have both infinitival and subjunctive complements, there is an obviation effect: the infinitival complements are used when there is joint reference, while the subjunctive structures are used when there is disjoint reference. Such an obviation effect is also instantiated in standard Croatian, but not in standard Serbian or Romanian, though all of these languages have both infinitival and subjunctive complements (*cf.* Tomić 2002–03; Stojanović and Marelj 2004).

[35] For emphatic purposes, a pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause can appear to the left of the subjunctive marker:

(29) a. *Planira* *da* *patuva/* *(*patuvaš).*
intend.3Sg Subjun.Mark travel.3Sg travel.2Sg
'(S)he is planing (*for you) to travel.'

b. *Izbegnuvaše* *da* *te* *sretne.*
avoid.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl meet.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he avoided meeting you.'

c. *Se* *obiduva* *da* *ja*
Acc.Refl.Cl try.3Sg Subjun.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
zaboravi/ *(*zaboravite).*
forget.3Sg.Pf.Pres forget.2Pl.Pf.Pres
'(S)he is trying (*for you) to forget her.'

4.2.2. The structures in which subjunctive structures appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (A) can be of three subtypes.

4.2.2.1. In subtype (a) the agent of the subjunctive structure surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal agents do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped.[36]

(30) a. *Zapoveduvam* *Marija* *da* *dojde* *vednaš.*
order.1Sg Marija Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres immediately
'I am giving an order that Marija should come immediately.'

(i) *Planira* *TOJ* *da* *dojde.*
intend.3Sg he Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pef.Pres
'He is planning to come himself.'

[36] In analogous structures in Romanian, a complementizer appears obligatorily to the left of the subject of the subjunctive structures. Since the occurrence of this complementizer is precluded in Romanian structures analogous to the Macedonian structures exemplified in (30) (*cf.* Tomić 2006: 521–27), the distinct properties of those structures have been ascribed to the non-existence or deletion of the complementizer. This does not hold, however. Not only in Macedonian, but also in the other two Balkan Romance languages—Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian, a complementizer can optionally appear to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker, to the left of the subject or another focused element of the subjunctive structure (*cf.* Tomić 2006: 544–45, 563–64).

(30) b. *Porača* *(TI)* *da* *go* *kupiš*
send-word.3.Aor you Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl buy.2Sg.Pf.Pres

mesoto.
meat+the.N.Sg

'S(h)e sent word that you should buy the meat (yourself).'

4.2.2.2. In subtype (b) the agent of the subjunctive structure surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause, and the intentional verb is described as 'indirect object control' verb.[37] In this case, the intentional verb is obligatorily accompanied by a Dat pronominal clitic.[38]

(31) a. *Ì* *zapoveduvam* *na* *Marija* *da*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl order.1Sg to Marija Subjun.Mark

dojde *vednaš.*
come.3Sg.Pf.Pres immediately

'I am ordering Marija to come immediately.'

b_1 *Ti* *porača* *da* *go*
2Sg.Dat.Cl send-word.3Sg.Aor Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

pratiš *pismoto.*
send.2Sg.Pf.Pres letter+the.N.Sg

'S(h)e sent word to you to send the letter.'

b_2 *(TEBE)* *ti* *porača* *(TEBE)* *da*
you.Obl 2Sg.Dat.Cl send-word.3Sg.Aor you.Obl Subjun.Mark

go *pratiš* *pismoto.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl send.2Sg.Pf.Pres letter+the.N.Sg

'(It is to you that) s(h)e sent word to send the letter.'

4.2.2.3. In subtype (c) the agent of the subjunctive structure surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as 'direct

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[37] The subject of the subjunctive structure can be focused and occur to the left of the intentional (main) verb. Pronominal subjects are dropped unless focused.

[38] All the verbs that have structures such as those illustrated in (31) also have structures such as those illustrated in (30). In earlier generative analyses, structures such as those in (31) were derived from structures like those in (30) through 'subject-to-object raising'. In some current generative analyses, the structures illustrated in (31) and (32) are referred to as ECM (exceptional case marking) structures and their relationship to the main verb is ascribed to the lack of a CP node, which makes the subject of the embedded clause exposed to c-command and control from the upper clause.

object control' verb. The intentional verb is obligatorily accompanied by an Acc pronominal clitic.

(32) a. *Marija go ubedi Petreta da dojde.*
Marija 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl convince.3Sg.Aor Petre.Acc Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'Marija convinced Petre to come.'

b$_1$ *Me natera da go podgotvam izveštajot.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl force.2/3Sg.Aor Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl prepare.1Sg.Pf.Pres report+the.M.Sg
'You/(s)he forced me to prepare the report.'

b$_2$ *(MENE) me natera (MENE) da go podgotvam izveštajot.*
me.Obl 1Sg.Acc.Cl force.2/3Sg.Aor me.Obl Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl prepare.1Sg.Pf.Pres report+the.M.Sg
'It is me that you/(s)he forced to prepare the report.'

4.2.3. The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive structures in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive structures are dropped unless emphatic (*cf.* 33a and 34a),[39] whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or pronouns, which can occur to the right of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker.[40]

(33) a. *(JAS) sakam (JAS) da mu go dadam (podarokot).*
I want.1Sg I Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Pf.Pres present+the.M.Sg
'I (myself) want to give it/(the present) to him.'

[39] In emphatic environments, the subject of the subjunctive structure is in this case expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

[40] The pronouns are used only if focused. The lexical subjects, on the other hand, can be focused or not.

(33) b_1 *Saka* *(decata)* *da* *dojdat*
want.3Sg children+the.Pl Subjun.Mark come.3Pl.Pf.Pres

(decata).
children+the.Pl

'(S)he wants them/ (the children) to come.'

b_2 *Saka* *(TIE)* *da* *dojdat* *(TIE).*
want.3Sg they Subjun.Mark come.3Pl.Pf.Pres they

'(S)he wants them (THEM) to come.'

c_1 *Petar* *saka* *decata* *da* *mu*
Petar want.3Sg children+the.Pl Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl

dadat *podarok.*
give.3Pl.Pf.Pres present

'Petar wants the children to give him a present.'

c_2 *Petar* *saka* *podarokot* *(DECATA/* *TIE)*
Petar want.3Sg present+the.M.Sg children+the.Pl they

da *mu* *go* *dadat*
Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Pf.Pres

(DECATA/ *TIE).*
children+the.Pl they

'As for the present, it is the children/them that Petar wants to give the present to him.'

(34) a. *Ana* *planira* *(TAA)* *da* *odi* *vo* *Amsterdam.*
Ana plan.3Sg she Subjun.Mark go.3Sg in Amsterdam

'Ana is planning to go to Amsterdam (herself).'

b. *Ana* *planira* *(decata)* *da* *zaminat*
Ana plan.3Sg children+the.N.Pl Subjun.Mark leave.3Pl.Pf.Pres

utre.
tomorrow

'Ana is planning for them/(the children) to leave tomorrow.'

4.3. Subjunctive Structures as Complements of Verbs of Perception

Whereas in Bulgarian, Modern Greek, and Albanian verbs of perception often take subjunctive complements, in Macedonian they do so in two strictly specific environ-

ments[41]—when negated, as in (35) or when they themselves occur in subjunctive complements, as in (36). In both cases, we typically have disjoint reference.

(35) a. *Te* *nemam* *videno* *da* *učiš.*
2Sg.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg seen.Pf.Past.Part Subjun.Mark study.2Sg
'I haven't seen you study.'

b. *Te* *nemam* *čueno* *da* *peeš.*
2Sg.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg heard.Pf.Past.Part Subjun.Mark sing.2Sg
'I haven't heard you sing.'

(36) a. *Sakam* *da* *vidam* *(Ivan)* *da*
want.1Sg Subjun.Mark see.1Sg.Pf.Pres Ivan Subjun.Mark
uči *(Ivan).*
study.3Sg Ivan
'I want to see him/(Ivan) study.'

b. *Sakam* *(Ivana)* *da* *go* *čujam*
want.1Sg Ivan.Acc Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl hear.1Sg.Pf.Pres
(Ivana) *da* *pee* *(Ivana).*
Ivan.Acc Subjun.Mark sing.3Sg Ivan.Acc
'I want to hear him/(Ivan) sing.'

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[41] In positive clauses, verbs of perception take indicative 'that' or 'wh' complements:

(i) *Gledam* *deka/oti* → *uči.*
see.1Sg.Impf.Pres that study.3Sg
'I see that (s)he studies.'

(ii) *Gledam* *kako/ %kade* → *uči.*
see.1Sg.Impf.Pres how where study.3Sg
'I see that (s)he is studying.'

The 'wh' complementizers *kako* and *kade* should be distinguished from the 'wh' adverbs with the meanings 'how' and 'where', respectively. As it can be seen by comparing (ii) to (iii), while the 'wh' complementizer is unstressed and procliticizes to the verb, the 'wh' adverb is a stressed independent word:

(iii) *GLEdam* *KAKO/ KADE* *UČI.*
see.1Sg.Impf.Pres how where study.3Sg
'I am observing how/where (s)he is studying.'

5. Bare Subjunctives

Subjunctive structures (with verbs in the present or past tenses) can be bare, i.e., can occur by themselves and not as complements of main clauses.[42] They typically represent wishes and commands, as do imperatives, from whose structures the structures of bare subjunctives differ in having Tense/AgrSP rather than only AgrSP, since they can have present and past tense forms.[43]

5.1. Most often, bare subjunctives have second and third person present tense forms.

5.1.1. Examples of bare subjunctives with second and third person present tense forms, expressing commands[44] and wishes are given in (37) and (38):[45]

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[42] This usage has been referred to as "use of subjunctives as main clauses" (*cf.* Ammann and Auwera 2004), or "surrogate imperatives", as opposed to "true imperatives" (*cf.* Isac and Jakab 2004). I prefer the term bare subjunctives, which allows for a covert existence of a main clause expressing a command or a wish. A clause such as (i) actually has the meaning of (ii) or (iii):

(i) *Da* *odiš!*
Subjun.Mark go.2Sg
'You should go.'

(ii) 'I order you to go.'

(iii) 'I wish that you would go.'

[43] Like imperatives and unlike indicatives, bare subjunctives can have perfective and imperfective verbs. Unlike imperatives they can have third person verb forms, but when they have second person forms they are used on a par with imperatives. We even find a second person imperative conjoined to a second person subjunctive:

(i) *Ti* *ostani* *tamu,* *a* *vie* *da* *dojdete*
you.Sg remain.2Sg.Imper there and you.Pl Subjun.Mark come.2Pl.Pf.Pres
vamu!
this-way
'You remain there but you (Pl) (should) come here!'

[44] In clauses with third person, singular or plural, commands, as well as prohibitions, can also be expressed by the exhortative marker *neka* 'let':

(i) *Neka* *proba/* *probaat!*
let try.3Sg try.3Pl
'Let him/them try!'

(ii) *Neka* *gi* *prečeka/* *prečekaat!*
let 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.3Sg.Pf.Pres meet/welcome.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'Let him/them meet/welcome them!'

(iii) *Neka* *ne* *odi/* *odat!*
let not go.3Sg go.3Pl
'Let him/them not go!'

(37) a. *Da* *odiš!*
Subjun.Mark go.2Sg.Impf.Pres
'You should go!'

b. *Da* *gi* *prečekate!*
Subjun.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.2Pl.Pf.Pres
'You should meet/welcome them!'

(38) a. *Da* *se* *blagosloveni!*
Subjun.Mark be.3Pl blessed.Pl.Pass.Part
'May they be blessed!'

b. *Da* *pukneš!*
Subjun.Mark burst.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'May you burst!'

c. *Golem* *da* *rasteš!*
big.M.Sg Subjun.Mark grow.2Sg.Impf.Pres
'May you grow big!'

d. *Slatko* *da* *spieš!*
sweetly Subjun.Mark sleep.2Sg.Impf.Pres
'May you sleep sweetly!'

5.1.2. Bare subjunctives with first and second person present tense verbs can also express astonishment:

Note that in Modern Greek an exhortative marker *as* 'let' is used along with the subjunctive marker *na*. In Macedonian, the subjunctive structure can sometimes be preceded by the exhortative marker *ajde* 'let'—a borrowing from Turkish:

(iv) *Ajde* *da* *go* *posetime!*
let Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Sg.Acc.Cl visit.1Pl.Impf.Pres
'Let us visit him!'

[45] In (38b) we have a curse, which is actually a wish for something bad. Note that wishes can also be expressed by singular or plural *l*-participles which relate to eventualities:

(i) *Dal* *ti* *Bog* *dobro!*
given.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part 2Sg.Dat.Cl God good.N.Sg
'May God give you good things!'

(ii) *Puknale!*
burst.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part
'May you burst!'

(39) a. *Da* *imaš* *pari,* *a* *da* *živeeš*
Subjun.Mark have.2Sg money and Subjun.Mark live.2Sg.Impf.Pres
kako *bednik!*
like poor-man
'To have money and to live as a poor man!'

b. *Da* *znae* *a* *da* *ne*
Subjun.Mark know.3Sg.Impf.Pres and Subj.Mark not
ni *kaže!*
1Pl.Dat.Cl tell.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'To know and not to tell us!'

c. *Da* *se* *omaži* *taka* *mlada!*
Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl marry.3Sg.Pf.Pres so young
'To get married so young!' (lit. 'That she gets married so young!')

d. *Da* *sum* *taka* *glup!?*
Subjun.Mark be.1Sg so foolish.M.Sg
'To be such a fool!?' (lit. 'That I be so foolish!')

5.1.3. With appropriate intonation, bare subjunctives with present tense verbs, first person singular or plural, can express resolution or agreement:

(40) a_1 *Da* *probam/* *probame.*
Subjun.Mark try.1Sg try.1Pl
'Let me/us try.'

a_2 *Pa,* *da* *probam/probame.*
so Subjun.Mark try.1Sg try.1Pl
'So, I/we shall try.'

b_1 *Da* *gi* *prečekame.*
Subjun.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'Let us meet/welcome them.'

b_2 *Pa,* *da* *gi* *prečekame.*
so Subjun.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'So, we shall meet/welcome them.'

(40) c_1 *Da* *ti* *go* *dadam/*
Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Pf.Pres
dademe.
give.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'Let me/us give it to you.'

c_2 *Pa, da* *ti* *go* *dadam/*
so Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Pf.Pres
dademe.
give.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'So, I/we shall give it to you.'

5.1.4. Negated bare subjunctives with present tense verbs in the second or third person, singular or plural, express prohibition.[46]

(41) a. *Da* *ne* *mu* *go* *davaš!*
Subjun.Mark not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg
'Don't give it to him!'

b. *Da* *ne* *odat* *tamu!*
Subjun.Mark not go.3Pl there
'Let them not go there!'

5.1.5. Negated bare subjunctives can have present tense, first person singular or plural verbs.

5.1.5.1. Negated bare subjunctives with first person singular present tense verbs express agreement.

(42) a. *Pa, da* *ne* *odam* *tamu.*
so Subjun.Mark not go.1Sg.Impf.Pres there
'So, I shan't go there.'

---

[46] In some cases, the negated bare subjunctive can have as a complement another subjunctive structure with a second person present tense modal verb with impersonal interpretation.

(i) *Da* *ne* *možeš* *da* *izlezeš!*
Subjun.Mark not be-able.2Sg.Pres Subjun.Mark get-out.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'Not to be able to get out (of the house)!'

Sentences such as (i) express disappointment.

(42) b. *Pa, da ne im go davam.*
so Subjun.Mark not 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Impf.Pres
'So, I shan't give it to them.'

5.1.5.2. Negated bare subjunctives with first person plural present tense verbs can, with appropriate intonation, express resolution or agreement.

(43) a. *(Pa,) da ne odime tamu.*
so Subjun.Mark not go.1Pl.Impf.Pres there
1. 'Let us not go there.'
2. 'So, we aren't going/shan't go there.'

b. *(Pa,) da ne im go*
so Subjun.Mark not 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
davame.
give.1Pl.Impf.Pres
1. 'Let us not give it to them.'
2. 'So, we shan't give it to them.'

5.2. Bare subjunctives with perfective imperfect verbs express a missed opportunity.[47] Examples:

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[47] With the intonation of questions, the clauses in (44) can express suggestions or pleas:

(i) *Da gi prečekavme?*
Subjun.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl.Aor
'Why not meet/welcome them?' (lit. 'To have met them?')

(ii) *Da mi dadevte malku leb?*
Subjun.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl give.2Pl.Pf.Imperf little bread
'Could you give me some bread, please?' (lit. 'To have given me a little bread.')

Note that in the southwestern Macedonian dialects, unrealized probability can also be expressed by a structure in which the modal clitic *bi* 'would' is followed by *l*-participles (i.e., by *potentialis* structures; *cf.* section 7 below).

(iii) *%Bi ste mu kazale!!*
would.Mod.Cl be.2Pl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl told.Pl.Impf.*l*-Part
'You should have told him (but you didn't)!'

(iv) *%Bi si došla na vreme!!*
would.Mod.Cl be.2Sg come.F.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part on time
'You should have come on time (but you didn't)!'

(44) a. *Da* *dojdea!*
Subjun.Mark come.3Pl.Pf.Imperf

'They (were invited and) should have come!' ('They shouldn't blame anybody for not coming.')

b. *Da* *go* *zemeše!*
Subjun.Mark 3Sg.MAcc.Cl take.2/3Sg.Pf.Imperf

'You/(s)he should have taken it!' ('Now you/(s)he cannot blame anyone for not taking it.')

5.3. Negated bare subjunctives with 'be' perfect + *l*-participles express threats:[48]

(45) a. *Da* *ne* *si* *mu* *go*
Subjun.Mark not be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

dala!
given.F.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

'Don't you dare give it to him!' (lit. 'You shouldn't give it to him.')

b. *Da* *ne* *si* *me* *doprel!*
Subjun.Mark not be.2Sg Sg.Acc.Cl touched.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

'Don't you dare touch me!' (lit. 'You shouldn't touch me.')

c. *Da* *ne* *si* *mrdnal* *od* *doma!*
Subjun.Mark not be.2Sg budged.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part from home

'Don't you dare leave home!' (lit. 'You shouldn't budge from home.')

5.4. In questions, negated or non-negated bare subjunctives in which the verb can be in any tense, though the use of a past tense is most frequent, express doubt or wonderment:[49]

(46) a. *Da* *?(ne)* *e/* *beše* *Petre?!*
Subjun.Mark not be.3Sg.Pres be.3Sg.Imperf Petre

'Could it (not) be that it is/was Petre?'

b. *Da* *?(ne)* *e* *dojden* *veḱe?!*
Subjun.Mark not be.3Sg come.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part already

'Could it (not) be that he has already come?!'

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[48] In this usage, the evidential meaning of the 'be' perfect forms is felt. *Cf.* section 10 in chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

[49] Some speakers accept only the negated sentences with this reading.

(46) c. *Kade (li) da e otiden?!*
where Inter.Cl Subjun.Mark be.3Sg gone.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'Where could he have gone?!'

d. *Da ?(ne) mu se rasipa*
Subjun.Mark not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl go-bad.3Sg.Aor
kolata?!
car+the.F.Sg
'Could it (not) be that his car got broken?!'

e. *Ti da ne ogluve?!*
you Subjun.Mark not deafen.2Sg.Aor
'You haven't become deaf, have you?!'

f. *Da ne go ima fateno strav?!*
Subjun.Mark not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg caught.Pf.Past.Part fear
'He is not frightened, is he?!'

g. *Da ?(ne) se veḱe dojdeni?*
Subjun.Mark not be.3Pl already come.Pl.Pf.Pass.Part
'Could it (not) be that they have already come?'

5.5. Followed by embedded questions introduced by a 'wh' word, bare subjunctives with verbs in the present tense are used in vivid narration. Examples:

(47) a. *Da vidiš što se sluči!*
Subjun.Mark see.2Sg.Pf.Pres what Acc.Refl.Cl happen.3Sg.Aor
'You should see what happened!'

b. *Da znaeš kolku golem e!*
Subjun.Mark know.2Sg how much big.M.Sg be.3Sg
'You should see how big he is!'

5.6. In storytelling, a bare subjunctive structure with a verb in the present tense can take as a complement another bare subjunctive structure in the present tense, or else two or more subjunctive structures with verbs in the present tense appear in a sequence:

(48) a. *Da* *zeme* *da* *go*
Subjun.Mark take.3Sg.Pf.Pres Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

natepa!
beat-up.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'(Lo and behold,) (s)he beat him up!' (lit. '(S)he took to beat him up!')

b. *Da* *stane,* *da* *jade* *i*
Subjun.Mark get-up.3Sg.Pf.Pres Subjun.Mark eat.3Sg.Pres and

da *izleze* *bez* *da*
Subjun.Mark get-out.3Sg.Pf.Pres without Subjun.Mark

kaže *ništo!*
say.3Sg.Pf.Pres nothing

'(Just imagine!) To get up, eat and leave without saying anything.'

6. Subjunctive Structures as Complements of Modal Clitics and the Expression of Futurity

In the languages of the Balkan Sprachbund, subjunctive structures in complement positions of the modal clitic express futurity. There are four types of such expressions, all of them evolving from configurations in which infinitives appeared as complements of lexical 'will' modals: (1) inflected 'will' modal clitics plus infinitives; (2) inflected 'will' modal clitics plus subjunctive structures; (3) invariant 'will' modal clitics plus subjunctive structures; (4) invariant 'will' modal clitics plus tensed verbs whose forms are analogous to the forms of the verbs in the subjunctive structures of the languages in question. In Macedonian we have expressions of type (4).

6.1. Forms

Futurity is in Macedonian expressed by the invariant expectative modal clitic *ќе* 'will', followed by verbs whose forms are analogous to the forms of the verbs in the Macedonian subjunctive structures and can adequately be treated as subjunctive structures, since *ќе* 'will' used to take a subjunctive marker which has been deleted. When the verb is in the imperfective or perfective present tense, the expression of futurity can be referred to as simple future tense; when it is in the imperfective or perfective present perfect tense it can be referred to as future perfect; when it is in the aorist or the imperfect it can be referred to as future-in-the-past; and when it is in the past perfect it can be referred to as future perfect-in-the-past. The simple future tense and the future perfect have corresponding evidential future tenses with the clitic *ќе* 'will' plus *l*-participles, which might be referred to as evidential future and evidential future perfect.

6.1.1. Centuries ago, futurity in South Slavic was expressed by subjunctive structures in complement positions of the expectative modal clitic *ќе* 'will'—a descendant from the Common Slavic modal verb *xotěti* 'will/want'.[50] From the 15th century onwards, the South Slavic modal verbs were gradually being replaced by modal clitics, while the infinitives were replaced by subjunctive structures. In the Macedonian spoken two or three centuries ago, futurity was represented by structures in which the modal clitic *ќе* 'will' was followed by subjunctive structures introduced by subjunctive markers, such as the ones in (49).[51]

(49) a. *%ќе* *da* *odi*
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark go.3Sg
'(s)he will go'

b. *%ќе* *da* *vidi*
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark see.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(s)he will see'

6.1.2. Subsequently, the subjunctive markers were deleted, though in some western Macedonian dialects, there are remnants of them. Thus, in the dialect of the village of Galičnik, we have:

(50) a. *%ќа* *zemet*
will.Mod.Cl+Subjun.Mark take.3Pl
'they will take (it)'

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[50] Back in time, Macedonian subjunctive structures could appear in complement positions of this verb. Koneski (1986: 201) cites the following examples from *Trojanska priča* (The Story of Troy)—a 14th century book written in the territory of Macedonia, in which a 'will' modal clitic plus infinitive expresses futurity:

(i) *%Xoščet* *počiti* *moj* *brat.*
will.3Sg.Pres die.Inf my brother
'My brother will die.'

(ii) *%Xoščet* *pogovoreti.*
will.3Sg.Pres speak.Pf.Inf
'(S)he will speak out.'

The modal verb *xotěti* 'will/want' survives in Macedonian only in the negative modal verb *%nejќе* 'not+will', which in colloquial Macedonian is used as a preferred negative counterpart of the verb *saka* 'want' (*cf.* footnote 64 below).

[51] The examples are from the late 18th–19th century writings of the Macedonian writers Joakim Krčovski and Kiríl Pejčinovič.

(50) b. *%ќа* *vidime*
will.Mod.Cl+Subjun.Mark see.1Pl.Perf.Pres
'we shall see'

6.1.3. Contemporary standard Macedonian has invariant 'will' modal clitics plus tensed verbs. The future tenses of the verb *odi* 'go.Impf' are represented in Table 6:[52]

Table 6. Future Tenses of the Verb *odi* 'go.Impf'[53]

	Simple Future		Future Perfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*ќе odam*	*ќе odime*	*ќе imam odeno*	*ќе imame odeno*
2nd	*ќе odiš*	*ќе odite*	*ќе imaš odeno*	*ќе imate odeno*
3rd	*ќе odi*	*ќе odat*	*ќе ima odeno*	*ќе imaat odeno*

[52] Note that the expectative modal clitic *ќе* is also used in passive constructions in which the passive participles co-occur with present or past tense 'be' auxiliary forms, as well as in evidential passive constructions in which the passive participles co-occur with *l*-participles of the 'be' auxiliary. Examples:

(i) *Prašanjeto* *ќе* *e/* *bide* *rešeno.*
question+the.N.Sg will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg be.3Sg.Pf.Pres solved.N.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'The question will be solved.'

(ii) *Prašanjeto* *ќе* *beše* *rešeno.*
question+the.N.Sg will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Imperf solved.N.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'The question would be solved.'

(iii) *Prašanjeto* *ќе* *bilo* *rešeno.*
question+the.N.Sg will.Mod.Cl be.N.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part solved.N.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part
'The question will reportedly be solved.'

[53] The speakers of the eastern dialects do not use the forms of the evidential future perfect and, instead of the forms of the future perfect and the future perfect-in-the-past listed in this table, use the forms of the future perfect and future perfect-in-the-past listed below:

	Future Perfect		Future Perfect-in-the-Past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*ќе sum odel(-a)*	*ќе sme odele*	*ќе bev odel(-a)*	*ќе bevme odele*
2nd	*ќе si odel(-a)*	*ќе ste odele*	*ќе beše odel(-a)*	*ќе bevte odele*
3rd	*ќе odel(-a)*	*ќе odele*	*ќе beše odel(-a)*	*ќе bea odele*

But, as pointed out by Aneta Dučevska (personal communication), these forms are not listed in the tense systems of any of the existing grammars of Macedonian.

	Future-in-the-Past		Future Perfect-in-the-Past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*ќе одев*	*ќе одевме*	*ќе имав одено*	*ќе имавме одено*
2nd	*ќе одеше*	*ќе одевте*	*ќе имаше одено*	*ќе имавте одено*
3rd	*ќе одеше*	*ќе одеа*	*ќе имаше одено*	*ќе имаа одено*
	Evidential Future		Evidential Future Perfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*ќе сум одел*	*ќе сме оделе*	*ќе сум имал одено*	*ќе сме имале одено*
2nd	*ќе си одел*	*ќе сте оделе*	*ќе си имал одено*	*ќе сме имале одено*
3rd	*ќе одел*	*ќе оделе*	*ќе имал одено*	*ќе имале одено*

6.1.4. In the structure of the Macedonian future tense analyzed in Tomić (2004a, 2004e) the modal clitic projects a modality phrase, and occurs to the left of MoodP, T/AgrSP and VP, in this order. An empty Mood operator checks the features of the lexical verb and subcategorizes for all the forms for which the subjunctive mood complementizer subcategorizes. The schematic representation of this structure is as follows:

(51) $[_{ModP}$ NP/DP$_i$ $[_{Mod}$ ModCl $[_{MoodP}$ t$_i$ $[_{Mood}$ Oper $[_{T/AgrSP}$ t$_i$ $[_{T/AgrS}$ $[_{VP}$ t$_i$ V]

6.1.4.1. Diachronic data show that these structures developed from mono-clausal raising structures with two finite verbs—an auxiliary modal clitic and a lexical verb, such as the structures featuring the contemporary Serbian future tense with subjunctive structures,[54] which can be schematically represented as in (52):

(52) $[_{T/AgrSP}$ NP/DP$_i$ $[_{T/AgrS}$ $[_{AuxP}$ t$_i$ ModCl $[_{MoodP}$ t$_i$ *da* $[_{VP}$ t$_i$ V]

6.1.4.2. The development of the structure in (51) from the structure in (52) actually went through an intermediate stage in which a non-inflecting modal clitic was followed by a subjunctive structure,[55] which could schematically be represented as follows:

(53) $[_{ModP}$ NP/DP$_i$ $[_{Mod}$ ModCl $[_{MoodP}$ t$_i$ $[_{Mood}$ *da* $[_{T/AgrSP}$ t$_i$ $[_{T/AgrS}$ $[_{VP}$ t$_i$ V]

[54] Serbian has a future tense with infinitives, as well.

[55] The intermediate stage of development is active in the contemporary southeastern Serbian dialects as well as in some neighboring non-Slavic Balkan languages.

6.2. The Function of the Future Tenses in Positive Non-Negated Clauses

6.2.1. The basic function of the simple future tense in positive non-negated clauses is to express futurity relative to the present moment.

(54) a. *Ќe* *ti* *čitam* *utre.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.1Sg tomorrow
'I will read to you tomorrow.'

b. *Ќe* *ti* *ja* *pročitam*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.1Sg.Pf.Pres
knigava *utre.*
book+the.F.Sg.Prox1 tomorrow
'I will read his book to you tomorrow.'

c. *Ќe* *ti* *ja* *dadam*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Pf.Pres
knigava *utre.*
book+the.F.Sg.Prox1 tomorrow
'I will give you the book tomorrow.'

6.2.1.1. The simple future tense can refer to an event that is expected to happen after a certain event that had occurred in the past:[56]

(55) *Ušte* *koga* *mu* *dal* *zbor* *i*
still when 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl given.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part word and
ќe *go* *donese.*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl bring.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'Since he gave a promise to him that he would bring it, he will certainly bring it.'

6.2.1.2. With second person subjects, the simple future tense can express an order:

[56] The example is from Koneski (1986: 489), with my glosses and translation.

(56) a. *Ќe* *otideš* *i* *ќe* *mu*
will.Mod.Cl go.2Sg.Pf.Pres and will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl

se *izviniš!*
Acc.Refl.Cl apologise.2Sg.Pf.Pres

'You WILL go and WILL apologise to him!'

b. *Ќe* *mu* *kupiš* *leb!*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl buy.2Sg bread

'You WILL buy bread for him!'

6.2.1.3. There are cases when *ќe* does not make the action future, but rather injects an element of surprise. The following examples are from Lunt (2003: 134):

(57) a. *Takva* *budalaština* *ne* *ќe* *se*
such.F.Sg stupidity not will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl

naoǵa *na* *vekov!*
find.3Sg.Impf.Pres on century+the.F.Sg.M.Sg

'Such a stupidity surely can't be found in this age!'

b. *Koj* *(li)* *ќe* *e* *vaka* *docna?*
who.M.Sg Inter.Cl will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg like-this.Adv late

'Who could it be (at the door) so late?'

6.2.2. The future perfect expresses the result of an action relative to a future moment.

(58) a. *Do* *pet* *satot* *ќe* *imame* *jadeno.*
by five clock+the.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl have.1Pl eaten.Impf.Past.Part

'By five o'clock we shall have eaten.'

b. *Do* *utre* *na* *pladne* *ќe* *go* *imame*
by tomorrow at noon will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Pl

završeno *proektot.*
finished.Pf.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg

'By tomorrow at noon, we shall have finished the project.'

6.2.3. The future-in-the-past can refer (a) to events supposed to have happened in the past,[57] (b) to events that might have happened, but were obstructed[58], or (c) to events that relate to a past point of time, but have to be performed later than that point.[59]

(59) a. *Ќe dojdeše do pet satot.*
will.Mod.Cl come.2/3Sg.Pf.Imperf till five hour+the.M.Sg
'You/(s)he was (believed/supposed) to come by five.'

b$_1$ *Ќe zaminev včera/ denes/ utre,*
will.Mod.Cl depart.1Sg.Pf.Imperf yesterday today tomorrow
no se razbole majka mi.
but Acc.Refl.Cl fall-ill.3Sg.Aor mother 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'I was going to leave yesterday/today/tomorrow, but my mother fell ill.'

b$_2$ *Ќe umreše od strav.*
will.Mod.Cl die.3Sg.Pf.Imperf from fear
'(S)he was going to die of fear.'

b$_3$ *Уште dolgo ќe se mačevme.*
still long.Adv will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl struggle.1Pl.Imperf
'We would have struggled a long time more.'

---

[57] This is the chronologically primary function of the future-in-the-past, but as pointed out by Topolinjska (1995: 72), it is now sparingly used.

[58] With this function, the Macedonian future-in-the-past tense is often used in *irrealis* conditional sentences (*cf.* section 7 below).

[59] As pointed out by Koneski (1986: 203), in the dialect of Veles, an older future-in-the-past form in which the modal auxiliary has a past tense marker and the lexical verb is preceded by a subjunctive marker, is also preserved:

(i) *%ќeše da dojde*
will.Imperf Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'would have come'

Note that the future-in-the-past forms of the (full, not auxiliary) verbs 'have' and 'be' express presumption:

(ii) *Ќe imaše sto duši.*
will.Mod.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf hundred souls
'There must have been a hundred people.'

(iii) *Blizu sedum ќe beše koga dojde.*
near seven will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Imperf when come.3Sg.Aor
'It must have been close to seven when (s)he came.'

(59) c. *Gi* *sretnav* *včera;* *ḱe* *odea*
3Pl.Acc.Cl meet.1Sg.Aor yesterday will.Mod.Cl go.3Pl.Imperf
vo *kino.*
in cinema
'I met them yesterday; they were going to go to the pictures.'

6.2.4. The modal clitic *ḱe* may occur to the left of evidential forms expressing subjective relationship of the participants in the speech event to the narrated events, in which case we might speak of evidential future and evidential future perfect.

6.2.4.1. The evidential future may express futurity in relation to the moment of speaking:

(60) a. *Petko* *ḱe* *dojdel* *utre.*
Petko will.Mod.Cl come.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part tomorrow
'Petko will reportedly come tomorrow.'

b. *Ḱe* *pravele* *svadba.*
will.Mod.Cl make.Pl.Impf.*l*-Part wedding
'They will reportedly have a wedding!'

c_1 *Ḱe* *rešaval* *utre* *za* *taa* *rabota.*
will.Mod.Cl solved.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part yesterday for that.F matter
'He will reportedly decide on that matter tomorrow.'

c_2 *Ḱe* *ja* *rešel* *utre*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl solved.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part yesterday
taa *rabota.*
that.F matter
'He will reportedly solve that matter tomorrow.'

6.2.4.2. The evidential future perfect expresses futurity which relates to some moment in the past but has present relevance:

(61) a. *Petko* *ḱe* *imal* *dojdeno*
Petko will.Mod.Cl have.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part come.Pf.Past.Part
do *sega.*
till now
'Petko will reportedly have come by now.'

(61) b. *Do pet časot ќe sme imale*
by five clock+the.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl be.1Pl.Cl eaten.Pl.Impf.*l*-Part

jadeno.
eaten.Impf.Past.Part

'By five o'clock we shall reportedly have eaten.'

6.2.5. Both the future and the future-in-the-past can express habitual actions:[60]

(62) a. *Ќe dojde/ dojdeše, ќe*
will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Pf.Pres come.3Sg.Pf.Imperf will.Mod.Cl

sedne/ sedneše i ќe
sit-down.3Sg.Pf.Pres sit-down.3Sg.Pf.Imperf and will.Mod.Cl

počne/ počneše da raskažuva.
begin.3Sg.Pf.Pres begin.3Sg.Pf.Imperf Subjun.Mark tell-stories.3Sg

'(S)he would come, sit down, and begin to tell stories.'

b. *Seta ќe se vneseše*
whole.F.Sg.Adj will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl involve.3Sg.Pf.Imperf

vo rabotata.
in work+the.F.Sg

'She would get involved in the work completely.'

c. *Ќe stanat/ stanea, ќe*
will.Mod.Cl get-up.3Pl.Pf.Pres get-up.3Pl.Pf.Imperf will.Mod.Cl

zemat/ zemea metli i ќe
take.3Pl.Pf.Pres take.3Pl.Pf.Imperf brooms and will.Mod.Cl

počnat/ počnea da ja
begin.3Pl.Pf.Pres begin.3Pl.Pf.Imperf Subjun.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

čistat kuќata.
clean.3Pl.Impf.Pres house+the.F.Sg

'They would get up, take brooms, and begin to clean the house.'

---

[60] There is no discernable difference in the meaning imparted by the simple future and the future-in-the past in this case.

(62) d. *Ḱe* *ima* *li* *krštavanje,* *viknete*
will.Mod.Cl have.3Sg Inter.Cl baptism call.2Pl.Imper

ja *Marija.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Marija

'If there is a baptism, call Marija!'

6.2.6. Verbs in the future and future-in-the-past tense can take subjunctive complements.

6.2.6.1. The verbs of the subjunctive complements of future tenses with lexical verbs are in the present tense, whatever the tense of the verb in the main clause.

(63) a_1 *Ḱe* *nastojuvam* *da* *dojdam*
will.Mod.Cl endeavour.1Sg.Pf.Pres Subjun.Mark come.1Sg.Pf.Pres

na *vreme.*
at time

'I will endeavour to come on time.'

a_2 *Ḱe* *nastojuvam* *da*
will.Mod.Cl endeavour.1Sg.Pf.Pres Subjun.Mark

bidam *točna.*
be.1Sg.Pf.Pres punctual.F.Sg

'I will endeavour to be punctual.'

b_1 *Ḱe* *nastojuvaše* *da* *dojde*
will.Mod.Cl endeavour.3Sg.Pf.Imperf Subjun.Mark come.Pf.Pres

na *vreme.*
on time

'(As far as I know) she was going to endeavour to come on time.'

b_2 *Ḱe* *nastojuvaše* *da*
will.Mod.Cl endeavour.3Sg.Pf.Imperf Subjun.Mark

bide *točna.*
be.3Sg.Pf.Pres punctual.F.Sg

'(As far as I know) she was going to endeavour to be punctual.'

6.2.6.2. The behaviour of subjunctive complements of future tenses with 'be' auxiliaries varies. Whereas the verbs of the subjunctive complements of a verb with a simple future tense with a 'be' auxiliary are always in the present tense (*cf.* (64)), the verbs of the subjunctive complement of a verb with a future-in-the-past tense with a

'be' auxiliary are in the present tense if the event persists at the moment of speaking and in a past tense otherwise (*cf.* (65)). [61]

(64) a_1 *Podobro* *ќe* *bide* *da* *ne*
Compar.Mark+good will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Pf.Pres Subjun.Mark not

ì *gi* *čita* *ovie* *knigi.*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl read.3Sg these books

'It will be better if (s)he does not read these books to her.'

a_2 *Posreќen* *ќe* *e*
Compar.Mark+happy.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg

da *bide* *žensko.*
Subjun.Mark be.3Sg.Impf.Pres female

'He will be happier if it (the baby that is not yet born) is female.'

(65) a_1 *Podobro* *ќe* *beše* *da*
Compar.mark+good will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark

ne *spie.*
not sleep.3Sg

'It would have been better if (s)he were not sleeping (but she is).'

a_2 *Podobro* *ќe* *bideše* *da*
Compar.mark+good will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Pf.Imperf Subjun.Mark

ne *spieše.*
not sleep.3Sg.Imperf

'It would have been better if (s)he had not been sleeping (but she was).'

---

[61] Note that, instead of the future-in-the-past tense, one can use a structure in which the modal clitic *bi* 'would' is followed by the *l*-participle of the 'normal' 'be' auxiliary:

(i) *Podobro* *bi* *bilo* *da* *ne* *ì*
better would.Mod.Cl been.N.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part Subj.Mark not 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl

gi *čita* *ovie* *knigi.*
3Pl.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Impf.Pres these books

'It would be better if (s)he did not read these books to her (but she does read them).'

(ii) *Podobro* *bi* *bilo* *da* *ne*
better would.Mod.Cl been.N.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part Subj.Mark not

ì *gi* *čitaše* *ovie* *knigi.*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Imperf these books

'It would be better if (s)he had not read these books to her (but she did read them).'

(65) b_1 *Podobro* *ќе* *беше* *da*
Compar.mark+good will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark

e *точна.*
be.3Sg punctual.F.Sg

'It would have been better if (s)he were punctual (but she never is).'

b_2 *Podobro* *ќе* *беше* *da*
Compar.mark+good will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark

беше *точна.*
be.3Sg.Impf.Imperf punctual.F.Sg

'It would have been better if (s)he had been punctual (but she was not).'

6.3. Negated Future Tenses

Negated counterparts of the positive future and the future-in-the-past tense structures can be constructed with the negative clitic *ne* plus the expectative modal clitic *ќе* 'will', preceding the tensed verbs, as well as with the impersonal form of the negative 'have' auxiliary *nema* 'not+have' preceding a subjunctive structure.

6.3.1. While the future tense with *nema* 'not+have' has a wide usage, the future tense with *ne ќе* occurs only when there is a presuppositional component in the interpretation of the sentence. Thus, (66a) and (66b), whose interpretations have or can have the meaning of presumptiveness, are well formed Macedonian sentences, whereas (66c), which is an assertive sentence, is much less acceptable:[62]

(66) a. *Ne* *ќе* *te* *zemat* *so* *niv.*
not will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.3Pl with them.Acc

'I presume they won't take you with them.'

b. *Ne* *ќе* *sum* *te* *zemela.*
not will.M.Cl be.1Sg 2Sg.Acc.Cl taken.F.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

'It is not expected that I would not take you (with me, but I will).'

c. *??Ne* *ќе* *te* *zemam.*
not will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.1Sg

'I won't take you (with me).'

---

[62] Instead of (66c), we most often have (i):

(i) *Nema* *da* *te* *zemam.*
not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.1Sg
'I won't take you (with me).'

6.3.2. Since the future-in-the-past tense is, as a rule, presuppositional, (positive) sentences with this tense can have negative counterparts with *ne ќe* preceding past or past perfect forms of lexical verbs, as well as counterparts with *nema* 'not+have' preceding a subjunctive structure, with no discernible difference in the meaning:

(67) a$_1$ *Ne ќe dojdeše do pet.*
not will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Pf.Imperf till five

a$_2$ *Nemaše da dojde do pet.*
not+have.3Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres till five
'(S)he was not (supposed) to come till five.'

b$_1$ *Da dojdeše, ne ќe go*
Subjun.Mark come.2/3Sg.Pf.Imperf not will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
imavme završeno proektot.
have.1Pl.Imperf finished.Pf.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg

b$_2$ *Da dojdeše, nemaše*
Subjun.Mark come.2/3Sg.Pf.Imperf not+have.3Sg.Imperf
da go imame završeno
Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Pl finished.Pf.Past.Part
proektot.
project+the.M.Sg
'Had you/(s)he had come, we would not have finished the project.'

6.4. Future Conditional Tense

There is a type of expression which might be referred to as 'future conditional tense', in which the non-inflecting conditional modal *bi* 'would' is followed by *l*-participles.

6.4.1. The future conditional tense usually imparts a choice:

(68) a. *Jas ne bi odel.*
I not would.Mod.Cl gone.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part
'I wouldn't go.'

b. *Tie bi došle.*
they would.Mod.Cl come.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part
'They would come.'

6.4.2. In the southwestern dialects, the modal *bi* combines with 'be' auxiliary clitics and refers to events that might have happened, but did not:

(69) a. *%Bi* *si* *go*
would.Mod.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
čuvala.
take-care.F.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part
'You should have taken care of him.'

b. *%Bi* *ste* *došle!*
would.Mod.Cl be.2Pl come.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part
'You should have come (if you wanted to see him/get a present).'

6.4.3. The future conditional tense can be preceded by subjunctive markers and express a curse:

(70) a. *Da* *bi* *ti* *žena* *ne*
Subjun.Mark would.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl wife not
rodila!
born.F.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part
'May your wife bear no children!' (lit. 'May your wife did not bear (a child).')

b. *Da* *bi* *te* *odnesla*
Subjun.Mark would.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl carried-away.F.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part
matnata!
troubled+the.F.Sg
'May troubled waters carry you away!'

6.4.4. The future conditional can also be used in the main clause of conditional sentences (*cf.* section 7 below).

6.5 *Ќe* 'will' and *bi* 'would' with Subjunctive Complements Introduced by Subjunctive Markers

In complement positions of both the invariant expectative modal clitics *ќe* 'will' and the conditional modal clitic *bi* 'would' we find subjunctive clauses introduced by subjunctive markers.[63] Thus, the traditional occurrence of the subjunctive structure in complement positions of modal clitics has not completely disappeared.

[63] Note that *ќe/bi* plus a subjunctive structure is mainly used in the western Macedonian dialects, but the standard does not prohibit it.

6.5.1. Subjunctive structures introduced by subjunctive markers functioning as complements of the expectative modal clitic *ḱe* 'will' can have verbs in a present or a past tense.

6.5.1.1. Clauses with the expectative modal clitic *ḱe* 'will' plus subjunctive structures with verbs in the present or the present perfect tense express a guess.[64]

(71) a. *Ḱe* *da* *ima* *deset* *godini* *od* togaš.
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark have.3Sg ten years from then
'There are some ten years since then.'

b. *Ḱe* *da* *imaš* *dojdeno*
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark have.2Sg come.Pf.Past.Part
ovde *porano.*
here earlier
'(I guess) you have come here before.'

---

[64] Clauses of this type can be negated:

(i) *%Ne* *ḱe* *da* *dojde.*
not will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark come.2/3Sg.Aor
'You/(s)he doesn't seem to have come.'

Negative clauses such as (i) should be distinguished from colloquial clauses such as (ii), in which the subjunctive structure is preceded by *nejḱe* 'not+want'—a lexical item which is historically formed from the negation marker *ne* and the third person singular form of the Common Slavic verb *xotěti* 'be willing/want', but now functions as a negative verb (*cf.* Tomić 2001).

(ii) *%Nejḱe* *da* *se* *vrati.*
not+want.3Sg Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl come-back.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he doesn't want to come back.'

That *nejḱe* is an independent lexical item is shown by the fact that it has complete present tense and imperfect paradigms, whose forms are currently used:

Forms of *nejḱe* 'not+want'

	Present tense		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*nejḱam*	*nejḱeme*	*nejḱev*	*nejḱevme*
2nd	*nejḱeš*	*nejḱete*	*nejḱeše*	*nejḱevte*
3rd	*nejḱe*	*nejḱat*	*nejḱeše*	*nejḱea*

An example of the use of the present tense forms of *nejḱe* is given in (ii). In (iii) we have an example of the use of the imperfect forms of *nejḱe*:

(iii) *%Nejḱevme* *da* *dojdeme.*
not+want.1Pl.Imperf Subjun.Mark come.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'We didn't want to come.'

6.5.1.2. Clauses with the expectative modal clitic *ќе* 'will' plus subjunctive structures with evidential verbs express inference.

(72) a. *Ќе* *да* *знаеле* *што* *се*
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark known.Pl.*l*-Part what Acc.Refl.Cl
случи.
happen.3Sg.Aor
'They seem to have known what happened.'

b. *Ќе* *да* *имале* *дојдено*
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark had.Pl.Impf.*l*-Part come.Pf.Past.Part
овде *порано.*
here earlier
'(As reported) they seem to have come here before.'

6.5.1.3. Clauses with the expectative modal clitic *ќе* 'will' plus a subjunctive structure in a past tense express a guess relative to a past moment. Examples:

(73) a. *Ќе* *да* *имаше* *врнето.*
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark have.3Sg.Imperf rained.Impf.Past.Part
'It had most probably rained.'

b. *Ќе* *да* *сакаше* *да*
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark want.2Sg.Imperf Subjun.Mark
дојдеш.
come.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'It appears that you wanted to come.'

c. *Ќе* *да* *го* *скршивте*
will.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl break.2Pl.Aor
шишето.
bottle+the.N.Sg
'You seem to have broken the bottle.'

6.5.2. Subjunctive structures which occur as complements of the invariant conditional modal clitic *bi* 'would' express a wish, a desire. Their usage is, however, restricted to western Macedonia.[65]

[65] In the dialects in which it takes subjunctive complements, *bi* has actually preserved the meaning of the conditional form from which it originated.

(74) a. *%Jas* *bi* *da* *dojdam.*
I would.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark come.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'I would like to come.'

b. *%Ti* *bi* *da* *dojdeš,* *neli?*
you would.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark come.2Sg.Pf.Pres Disc.Particle
'You would like to come, wouldn't you?'

7. Conditional Sentences

Subjunctive clauses and future tenses of both perfective and imperfective verbs are regularly used in conditional sentences.

7.1. In *realis* conditional sentences, which express a possibility for the events to be realized at some future point, a (perfective or imperfective) verb in the present tense occurs in the *protasis*, while a future tense structure occurs in the *apodosis*. The *protasis* is, as a rule, introduced by the conjunction *ako* 'if'.[66] Examples:

In standard Macedonian *bi* is followed by the verb *saka* 'want' and instead of (75a) we have (i):

(i) *Jas* *bi* *sakala* *da* *dojdam.*
I would.Mod.Cl want.F.Sg.*l*-Part Subjun.Mark.Cl come.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'I would (like to) come.'

In some western Macedonian dialects (e.g., in the Debar dialect), the *bi* plus subjunctive structures may be preceded by the conditional conjunction *ako* 'if' or by the subjunctive marker. Examples:

(ii) *%Ako* *bi* *da* *mu* *potrebvet* *pari...*
if would.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl need.3Pl money
'If he happens to need money...'

(iii) *%Da* *bi* *da* *pukneš!!*
Subjun.Mark would.Mod.Cl Subjun.Mark burst.2Sg
'May (it happen so that) you burst!' (lit. 'That would that you burst!')

[66] The selection of the verb in the *ako*-clause is analogous to the selection of verbs in subjunctive structures, which is not surprising, since, both *ako*-clauses and subjunctive structures are modal. As a matter of fact, in the older stages of the language, subjunctive structures introduced by the subjunctive marker *da* appeared to the immediate right of *ako*-conjunctions. Note that in Albanian, the conjunction *po* 'if' co-occurs with the subjunctive marker (*cf.* Tomić 2006: 607–09).

In informal style, instead of a conjunction, one can use the interrogative clitic *li*, which is placed immediately after the verb:

(75) a. *Ako sakaš, ќe možeš.*
if want.2Sg will.Mod.Cl be-able.2Sg
'If you want, you will be able to.'

b. *Ako dojdeš na vreme, ќe te*
if come.2Sg.Pf.Pres on time will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl
zememe so nas.
take.1Pl.Pf.Pres with us.Acc
'If you come on time, we shall take you with us.'

c. *Ako bideš dobar, ќe dobieš*
if be.2Sg.Pf.Pres good.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl get.2Sg.Pf.Pres
podarok.
present
'If you are good, you will get a present.'

d. *Ako nastojuvaat, ќe uspeat.*
if insist.3Pl will.Mod.Cl succeed.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'If they insist, they will succeed.'

7.2. *Irrrealis* conditional sentences, i.e., conditional sentences that refer to events whose chance for realization is forfeited, have a subjunctive structure with a verb in a past tense[67] or an *ako*-('if-')clause with a verb in a past tense in the *protasis* and a fu-

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(i) *Ne dojdeš li na vreme, ne ќe dobieš*
not come.2Sg.Pf.Pres Inter.Cl on time not will.Mod.Cl get.2Sg.Pf.Pres
karta.
ticket
'If you do not come on time, you will not get a ticket.'

In some cases, when the action is viewed as more probable, *realis* conditional clauses can occur without modal clitics. The following examples are from Lunt (2003: 135):

(ii) *Da e da sum na tvoe mesto!*
Subjun.Mark be.3Sg Subjun.Mark be.1Sg on your.N.Sg place
1. 'If it could be that I were in your place!'
2. 'May it be that I am in your place!'

(iv) *Igla da frliš, nema kade da*
needle Subjun.Mark throw.2Sg.Pf.Pres not+have.3Sg where Subjun.Mark
padne.
fall.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'If you throw a needle, there will be no place for it to fall.' (This is a common saying, meaning 'Jam-packed with people'.)

ture-in-the-past tense in the *apodosis*. As in many other Balkan languages, these sentences have two readings: (a) *irrealis* from the point of of view of the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment.[68]

(76) a. *Da/* *ako* *imav* *pari,* *ќe*
Subjun.Mark if have.1Sg.Imperf money will.Mod.Cl

kupev *kuќa* *na* *more.*
buy.1Sg.Pf.Imperf house on sea

1. 'If I had money, I would buy a house at the seaside.'
2. 'If I had had money, I would have bought a house at the seaside.'

b. *Da/* *ako* *me* *zamolea,* *ќe*
Subjun.Mark if 1Sg.Acc.Cl ask.3Pl.Pf.Imperf will.Mod.Cl

im *go* *dadev.*
3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Pf.Imperf

1. 'If they asked me, I would give it to them.'
2. 'If they had asked me, I would have given it to them.'

c. *Da/* *ako* *sakaše,* *ќe*
Subjun.Mark if want.2/3Sg.Imperf will.Mod.Cl

dojdeše.
come.2/3Sg.Pf.Imperf

1. 'If you/(s)he wanted, you/(s)he would come.'
2. 'If you/(s)he had wanted, you/(s)he would have come.'

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[67] In some cases, both the verb in the *protasis* and the one in the *apodosis* can be in the present tense and the *protasis* can be introduced by a subjunctive marker. Such sentences are always *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking. For example:

(i) *Da* *si* *umen,* *ne* *ќe* *zboruvaš* *taka.*
Subjun.Mark be.2Sg clever.M.Sg not will.Mod.Cl talk.2Sg so
'If you were clever (which seems most unlikely), you wouldn't talk like that.'

(ii) *Da* *skokne* *na* *kamen,* *ќe* *si*
Subjun.Mark jump.3Sg.Pf.Pres on stone will.Mod.Cl Dat.Refl.Cl

gi *skrši* *nozete.*
3Pl.Acc.Cl break.3Sg.Pf.Pres legs+the.Pl
'If he jumped on a stone, he would break his legs.'

[68] The two readings transpire through the English translations.

(76) d. *Da/* *ako* *dojdeše* *so* *nas,* *ne*
Subjun.Mark if come.2/3Sg.Pf.Imperf with us not

ќe *beše* *sama.*
will.Mod.Cl be.2/3Sg.Imperf alone.F.Sg

1. 'If you/she had come with us, you/she wouldn't have been alone.'
2. 'If you/she came with us, you/she wouldn't be alone.'

e. *Da/* *ako* *beše* *zdrav,* *ќe*
Subjun.Mark if be.2/3Sg.Imperf healthy will.Mod.Cl

trčaše.
run.2/3Sg.Imperf

1. 'If you/he were healthy, you/he would be running.'
2. 'If you/he had been healthy, you/he would have been running.'

7.3. The use of the 'have' or 'be' perfect[69] in the *protasis* excludes the *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking reading, and thus disambiguates the sentence:[70]

(77) a_1 *Da/* *ako* *me* *imaa* *zamoleno,*
Subjun.Mark if 1Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Pl.Imperf asked.Pf.Past.Part

ќe *im* *go* *dadev.*
will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Pf.Imperf

'If they had asked me, I would have given it to them.'

a_2 *Da/* *ako* *me* *bea* *zamolile,*
Subjun.Mark if 1Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Pl.Imperf asked.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part

ќe *im* *go* *dadev.*
will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.C give.1Sg.Pf.Imperf

'If they had asked me, I would have given it to them.'

---

[69] The 'have' and 'be' perfects are discussed in chapter 11, entitled "Simple and Compound Tenses".

[70] Note that the perfect can be used in both clauses, though its use in the *apodosis* has an effect on the completion of the action (not on the type of conditionality).

(i) *Da* *me* *imaa* *zamoleno*
Subjun.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Pl.Imperf asked.Pf.Past.Part

ќe *im* *go* *imav* *dadeno.*
will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Imperf given.Pf.Past.Part

'If they had asked me, I would have already given it to them.'

(77) b_1 *Da/* *ako* *nemaše* *insistirano,*
Subjun.Mark if not+have.2/3Sg.Imperf insisted.Impf.Past.Part

ne *ќe* *dojdevme.*
not will.Mod.Cl come.1Pl.Pf.Imperf

'If you/(s)he had not insisted, we would not have come.'

b_2 *Da/* *ako* *ne* *beše* *insistiral,*
Subjun.Mark if not be.2/3Sg.Imperf insisted.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part

ne *ќe* *dojdevme.*
not will.Mod.Cl come.1Pl.Pf.Imperf

'If you/he had not insisted, we would not have come.'

c_1 *Da/* *ako* *beše* *dojden,*
Subjun.Mark if be.2/3Sg.Imperf come.M.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part

ќe *te* *zemea.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.3Pl.Pf.Imperf

'If you were here, they would have taken you.'

c_2 *Da/* *ako* *beše* *došol,*
Subjun.Mark if be.2Sg.Imperf come.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

ќe *te* *zemea.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.3Pl.Pf.Imperf

'If you had come, they would have taken you.'

7.4. In addition to the *realis* and *irrealis* conditional sentences, Macedonian has *potentialis* conditional sentences, which, like the *realis* conditional sentences, concern as yet unrealized events, but the speaker conveys some doubt as to their realization.

7.4.1. The *protasis* of the *potentialis* conditional sentences are typically introduced by *koga* 'when', and have conditional future tense in the *apodosis*:[71]

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[71] Jane Hacking conducted two surveys of the use of the Macedonian conditionals—in 1992 and 1997. The surveys showed that conditionals with *koga* plus *bi* plus *l*-participle in the *apodosis* and *bi* plus *l*-participle in the *protasis* are on the increase (*cf.* Hacking 1998). As pointed out by Hacking (2001: 239), from where the following example is taken, the conditionals with *koga*, followed by *bi* and *l*-participles in the *protasis*, and *bi* and *l*-participles in the *apodosis*, can even be used in *irrealis* contexts:

(i) *Koga* *bi* *ja* *kažal* *vistinata,* *na*
if would.Mod.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl told.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part truth+the.F.Sg at

početokot, *ne* *bi* *imalo* *problemi.*
beginning+the.M.Sg not would.Mod.Cl had.N.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part problems

(78) a. *Koga bi imala pari,*
when would.Mod.Cl had.F.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part money

bi kupila kuќa na more.
would.Mod.Cl bought.F.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part house on sea

'If I/you/she had money, I/you/she would buy a house at the seaside.'

b. *Koga bi go videla,*
when would.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.F.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

bi se zaljubila vo nego.
would.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl fallen-in-love.F.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part in him

'If I/you/she saw him, I/you/she would fall in love with him.'

c. *Koga ne bi znaele, ne*
when not would.Mod.Cl known.Pl.Impf.*l*-Part not

bi se jadosuvale.
would.Mod.Cl Acc.Ref.Cl worried.Pl.Impf.*l*-Part

'If we/you/they didn't know, we/you/they would not worry.'

7.4.2. Instead of *koga* 'when', the *potentialis* conditional sentences with a conditional future tense, may have the conjunction *dokolku* 'in case', which is mostly used in journalistic style.

(79) a. *Dokolku toa bi se*
in-case that.N would.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl

slučilo, bi propadnalo
happened.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part would.Mod.Cl be-ruined.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

sè.
everything

'In case that would happen, everything would be ruined.'

No sega ima...
but now have.3Sg

'If he had told the truth at the beginning, there wouldn't have been problems. But now there are...'

The construction used in the *protasis* can be used independently to impart a wish:

(ii) *Koga bi sakal da dojde!*
when would.Mod.Cl wanted.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'If only he would like to come!'

(79) b. *Dokolku* *nadležnite* *ne* *go*
in-case responsible.Pl.Noun+the.Pl not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

rešat *problemot,* *ќe*
solve.3Pl.Pf.Pres problem+the.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl

bideme *poplaveni.*
be.1Pl.Pf.Pres flooded.Pl.Pf.Pass.Part

'In case the authorities do not solve the problem, we shall be flooded.'

7.4.3. There are *potentialis* conditional sentences with subjunctive structures with present tense verbs in the *protasis*, and the conditional modal clitic *bi* 'would', followed by an *l*-participle, in the *apodosis:*

(80) *Da* *može* *bebeto* *da*
Subjun.Mark be-able.3Sg baby+the.N.Sg Subjun.Mark

prozboruva, *bi* *ti* *reklo...*
begin-to-talk.3Sg.Pf.Pres would.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl said.N.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

'If the baby could talk, he'd say to you...'

8. Subjunctive Structures as Nominal Modifiers and as Adjuncts

Macedonian subjunctive structures can function as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts—by themselves or along with the prepositions in whose complements they occur.

8.1. Subjunctive structures appearing to the immediate right of indefinite lexical complements of the personal lexical verb *ima* 'have/possess', function as nominal modifiers which describe the use or activity of the indefinite complement:[72]

(81) a. *Imam* *braќa* *da* *mi* *pomognat.*
have.1Sg brothers Subjun.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Pl.Pf.Pres

'I have brothers to help me.'

b. *Imaš* *deca* *da* *se* *raduvaš.*
have.2Sg children Subjun.Mark Acc.Ref.Cl rejoice.2Sg

'You have children to give you joy.'

[72] Example (81a) is from Bužarovska (2004: 396). Note that the subjunctive structures in all of these and similar examples have dual interpretation—as nominal modifiers and as adjuncts of purpose. When, the subjunctive structure is preceded by the preposition *za* 'for', the sentences are disambiguated in favor of the adjuncts of purpose reading (*cf.* section 8.3 below).

(81) c. *Imaat* *kuče* *da* *gi* *čuva.*
have.3Pl dog Subjun.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg
'They have a dog to protect them.'

d. *Imame* *pečka* *da* *ne* *topli.*
have.1Pl stove Subjun.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl warm.3Sg
'We have a stove to keep us warm.'

8.2. Marginally, subjunctive structures can function as nominal modifiers to complements of the verb *bara* 'look-for/seek',[73] though the preferred interpretation of such subjunctive structures is as adjuncts of purpose.[74]

(82) a. *Baram* *kauč/* *krevet* *da* *prespijam.*
look-for.1Sg couch bed Subjun.Mark sleep.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'I am looking for a couch/bed to spend the night on.'

b. *Baram* *nekoj* *da* *mi* *dade*
look-for.1Sg someone Subjun.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Pf.Pres
link *za* *Sky* *Star.*
link for Sky Star
'I am looking for someone to give me a link for Sky Star.'

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[73] Bužarovska (2004) qualifies the verb *bara* 'look-for/seek' as a "verb of quest". She examines the syntactic environments that favor the realization of syntactic patterns which occur in the mixed domain of purpose and modification in Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian, and Modern Greek and argues that the weakening of control at the expense of beneficiary meaning is responsible for gradual shift from purpose to modification.

[74] The examples in (82) are retrieved from the Internet (through Google search). In Bulgarian and some other Balkan languages, subjunctive structures can function as nominal modifiers of complements of a number of verbs, which, along with verbs with the meaning of 'look-for/seek' and its opposite meaning 'find'—representing the final stage of looking for/seeking—can go under the name of "verbs of quest". In Macedonian, however, only examples of subjunctive structures functioning as modifiers of complements of the verb *bara* 'look-for/seek' can be found. In Bužarovska and Tomić (2009) it is reported that, in 750 pages of surveyed texts from literary works, there were no examples of subjunctives used as nominal modifiers, which points out that these subjunctives are a feature of the spoken language.

Note that in some southwestern Macedonian dialects, indefinite complements of *bara* 'look-for/seek' can be modified by clauses in which the subjunctive structure is introduced by the invariant relativizer (*relativum generale*) *što* 'what'. Thus, in the Macedonian dialect of Korča/Korçë in southern Albania, sentences along the lines of (i) could be found:

(i) *%Baram* *čovek* *što* *da* *znaet* *grčki.*
look-for.1Sg man what Subjun.Mark know.3Sg Greek
'I am looking for a man who knows Greek.'

(82) c. *Baram* *zgodna* *plavuša* *da* *mi*
look-for.1Sg attractive.F.Sg blond.Noun Subjun.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl

zgotvi *sarma* *za* *ruček.*
prepare.3Sg.Pf.Pres stuffed-cabbage/vine-leaves for lunch

'I am looking for an attractive blond to prepare staffed cabbage/vine leaves for my lunch.'

d. *Baram* *žena* *da* *mete* *ednaš* *dnevno,*
look-for.1Sg woman Subjun.Mark sweep.3Sg once daily

da *mie* *sadovi* *dva* *pati* *dnevno,* *da*
Subjun.Mark wash.3Sg dishes two times daily Subjun.Mark

gotvi *jadenje* *tri* *pati* *i* *barem* *četiri* *pati*
prepare.3Sg meal three times and at-least four times

dnevno *da* *ì* *tekne* *na*
daily Subjun.Mark 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl remember.3Sg.Pf.Pres of

mene.
me

'I am looking for a woman to sweep (the floor) once a day, to wash the dishes twice a day, to prepare a meal three times a day, and at least four times a day to think of me.'

8.3. As complements of the preposition *za* 'for',[75] subjunctive structures with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of purpose:[76]

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[75] In older Macedonian, subjunctive structures with verbs in the present tense appeared as complements of any preposition. Nowadays, in many cases, we find the expletive *toa* 'it' between the preposition and the subjunctive structure:

(i) *Došol* *do* *toa* *da* *go* *sožaluvaat* *site.*
come.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part to it Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl feel-sorry.3Pl all+the.Pl

'He is in such a deplorable situation, that everybody feels sorry for him.' (lit. 'He came to it that everybody feels sorry for him.')

(ii) *Nema* *ništo* *poprijatno* *od* *toa* *da*
not+have.3Sg nothing Compar.Mark+pleasant from it Subjun.Mark

bideš *majka.*
be.2Sg.Pf.Pres mother

'There is nothing more pleasant than being a mother.'

[76] The sequence *za da* 'for that' correlates with the use of indicative complementizers to the left of subjunctive markers in Balkan Romance, Albanian, and to some extent in Bulgarian (*cf.* the chapter "Infinitives and Subjunctives" in Tomić 2006). When the subject of the subjunctive clause is not equivalent to the subject of the main clause and has to be expressed overtly, the Macedonian preposition *za* 'for' occurs to the left of the subject, in positions in which in Roma-

(83) a. *Napravivme pauza ?(za) da gi*
make.1Pl.Aor pause for Subjun.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl

čueme vestite.
hear.1Pl.Pf.Pres news+the.Pl

'We paused in order to hear the news.'

b. *Se javuvame ?(za) da vidite*
Acc.Refl.Cl call.1Pl for Subjun.Mark see.2Pl.Pf.Pres

deka se grižime za vas.
that Refl.Accc.Cl care.1Pl for you.Acc

'We are calling so that you (may) see that we care about you.'

c. **(Za) da pobedi, treba*
for Subjun.Mark win.3Sg.Pf.Pres should.3Sg

da ne padne.
Subjun.Mark not fall.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'In order to win, (s)he should not fall.'

---

nian and Aromanian we have subjunctive complementizers. In emphatic clauses, the subject of the subjunctive clause can occur to the left of the preposition, but never between the subjunctive marker and the verb. Thus, (i–ii) are well-formed sentences, while (iii–iv) are not:

(i) *Gi pokanija za Jane da ja*
3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Aor for Jane Subjun.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

sretne Marija.
meet.3Sg.Pf.Pres Marija

(ii) *Gi pokanija Jane za da ja*
3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Aor Jane for Subjun.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

sretne Marija.
meet.3Sg.Pf.Pres Marija

(iii) **Gi pokanija za da Jane ja*
3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Aor for Subjun.Mar Jane 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

sretne Marija.
meet.3Sg.Pf.Pres Marija

(iv) **Gi pokanija za da ja Jane*
3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Aor for Subjun.Mar 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Jane

sretne Marija.
meet.3Sg.Pf.Pres Marija

'They invited them so that Jane would meet Marija.'

(83) d. *Dojdov* *(za)* *da* *ve* *izvestam*
come.1Sg.Aor for Subjun.Mark 2Pl.Acc.Cl inform.1Sg.Pf.Pres

deka *si* *odam.*
that Dat.Refl.Cl leave.1Sg

'I came to inform you that I am leaving.'

8.4. As a complement of the preposition *bez* 'without', together with that preposition, subjunctive structures with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of concession.[77] Examples:

(84) a. *Go* *stori* *toa* *bez* *da*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.3Sg.Aor it without Subjun.Mark

znae *zošto.*
know.3Sg why

'(S)he did it without knowing why.'

b. *Ja* *navrediv* *bez* *da* *sakam.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Aor without Subjun.Mark want.1Sg

'I offended her without wanting (to do it).'

8.5. Preceded by the preposition *duri* or *dodeka* 'until', or by the adverb *tokmu* 'just', subjunctive structures (with verbs in the present tense) function as adjuncts of time.

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[77] Adjuncts of concession with the preposition *bez* 'without' are in the western Macedonian dialects also formed with verbal nouns:

(i) *%Ja* *navrediv* *bez* *sakanje.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Aor without wanting

'I offended her without wanting (to do it).'

It is noteworthy that the verbal noun can also be preceded by the preposition *so* 'with', while a subjunctive structure cannot:

(ii) *%Ja* *navrediv* *so* *sakanje.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Aor with wanting

'I offended her intentionally.' (lit. 'I offended her with wanting (to do it).')

(iii) **Ja* *navrediv* *so* *da* *sakam.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Aor with Subjun.Mark want1Sg

(85) a. *Treba* *da* *čeka* *mnogu* *duri/dodeka*
should.3Sg Subjun.Mark wait.3Sg much until

da *ja* *premine* *ulicata.*
Subjun.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl cross.3Sg.Pf.Pres street+the.F.Sg

'(S)he should wait a long time until (s)he can cross the street.'

b. *Tokmu* *da* *ja* *dofatam,*
just Subjun.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl catch.1Sg.Pf.Pres

odednaš *se* *svrte.*
at-once Acc.Refl.Cl turn.3Sg.Aor

'I was just about to catch her when she turned.' (lit. 'Just to catch her, at once she turned.')

8.6. Preceded by the invariant relativizer *što* 'what', subjunctive structures function as adjuncts of consequence:

(86) *Uspea* *da* *ni* *go*
succeed.3Sg.Aor Subjun.Mark 1Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl

dobliži *do* *taa* *mera* *što* *da*
approach.3Sg.Pf.Pres to that.F measure what Subjun.Mark

se *počuvstuva* *kako* *svoj.*
Acc.Refl.Cl feel.3Sg.Pf.Pres like own.M.Sg

'(S)he succeeded in bringing him/it so close to us that one feels him/it as one's own.' (lit. '(S)he succeeded to bring him/it close to us to the extent that he/it is felt as (one's) own.')

8.7. Preceded by the preposition *kako* 'like/as', subjunctive structures function as adjuncts of manner:

(87) *Izgleda* *kako* *da* *leta/* *poleta/*
appear.3Sg like/as Subjun.Mark fly.3Sg.Pres start-to-fly.3Sg.Aor

ќe *poleta.*
will.Mod.Cl start-to-fly.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'It appears as if (s)he is flying/has started to fly/will start to fly.'

Chapter 13

Interrogative Clauses

1. Types of Interrogative Clauses

As in many European languages, the interrogative clauses in Macedonian can contain 'yes–no' questions or 'wh' questions.

2. Interrogative Clauses with 'Yes–No' Questions

The interrogative clauses with 'yes–no' questions can be of three types: (a) clauses with the clitic interrogative marker *li*, present in all South Slavic languages and in Russian; (b) clauses with the non-clitic interrogative complementizer *dali* 'whether', originally derived by adding the interrogative marker *li* to the agreement marker *da* 'yes', and (c) clauses with no overt interrogative markers, i.e., clauses in which questions are marked by intonation alone, which are typical in the Balkans but do not occur in Bulgarian.[1]

(1) a_1 *Barate* *li* *nešto?*
look-for.2Pl Inter.Cl something

a_2 *Dali* *barate* *nešto?*
whether look-for.2Pl something

a_3 *Barate* *nešto?*
look-for.2Pl something

'Are you looking for something?'

b_1 *Ti* *dadoa* *li* *jadenje?*
2Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Pl.Aor Inter.Mark food

b_2 *Dali* *ti* *dadoa* *jadenje?*
whether Inter.Cl give.3Pl.Aor food

[1] There is a dialectal difference in usage: while in the eastern Macedonian dialects clauses with the clitic interrogative particle *li* prevail, in the western Macedonian dialects, the use of clauses with no overt interrogative markers is most common. In the extreme west of Macedonia, the latter type is actually the only type of 'yes–no' questions.

(1) b_3 *Ti* *dadoa* *jadenje?*
2Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Pl.Aor food
'Did they give you food?'

c_1 *Ḱe* *dojdeš* *li* *so* *nas?*
will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Pf.Pres Inter.Mark with us.Acc

c_2 *Dali* *ḱe* *dojdeš* *so* *nas?*
whether will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Pf.Pres with us.Acc

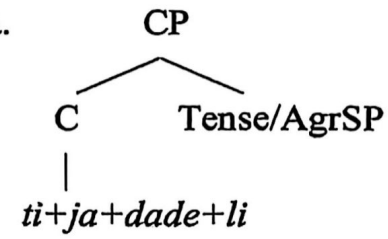
c_3 *Ḱe* *dojdeš* *so* *nas?*
will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Pf.Pres with us.Acc
'Are you coming with us?'

2.1. Syntactic and Prosodic Behavior

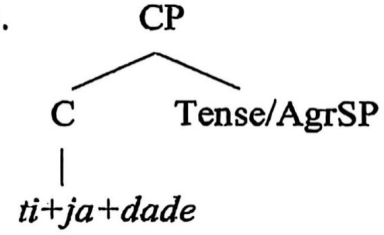
Both the interrogative marker *li* and the non-clitic interrogative complementizer *dali* are derived in a complementizer node to the left of a Tense/Subject Agreement Phrase (Tense/AgrSP).[2] The syntactic and prosodic behavior of interrogative clauses with the interrogative complementizer *dali* are, however, distinct from those with the interrogative marker *li*.

2.1.1. While the verbs of interrogative clauses with the non-clitic complementizer *dali* may remain in the tense and subject agreement node (Tense/AgrS), those with the interrogative marker *li*, along with any clitics which may procliticize to them, have to raise to C (*cf.* (2a)), as do the interrogative clauses with no overt interrogative markers (*cf.* 2b)).

(2) a.



b.



[2] Tense/AgrSP is discussed in section 2.2 of chapter 9, "The Structure of the Clause".

2.1.2. The distinct behavior of the verbs in different types of interrogative clauses is argued for by the fact that in interrogative clauses with the interrogative marker *li* and in those with no overt interrogative markers the subject may not precede the verb,[3] whereas in interrogative clauses with the non-clitic complementizer *dali* it may and often does so, though the codifyers recommend the subjects to be placed preverbally:

(3) a$_1$ *Bara* *li* *Petko* *nešto?*
look-for.3Sg Inter.Cl Petko something

a$_2$ *Dali* *Petko* *bara* *nešto?*
whether Petko look-for.3Sg something

a$_3$ *Bara* *Petko* *nešto?*
look-for.3Sg Petko something

'Is Petko looking for something?'

b$_1$ *Ti* *ja* *dade* *li* *Petko*
2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2Pl.Aor Inter.Cl Petko

knigata?
book+the.F.Sg

b$_2$ *Dali* *(Petko)* *ti* *ja* *dade*
whether Petko 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2Pl.Aor

(Petko) *knigata?*
Petko book+the.F.Sg

b$_3$ *Ti* *ja* *dade* *Petko* *knigata?*
2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2Pl.Aor Petko book+the.F.Sg

'Did Petko give you the book?'

2.1.3. While *dali* is stressed distinctly from the rest of the clause, *li* is an enclitic clitic which, as a rule, is hosted by the verb to its left, whether or not the verb is preceded by clitics procliticizing to it:[4]

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[3] In their analysis of Macedonian and Bulgarian *li*-questions Rudin *et al.* argue that the verb raises to the right of *li* and its appearance to the left of the verb is the result of prosodic inversion. But the Macedonian data strongly support the movement of the verb to the left of *li* and speak against the argument for prosodic inversion.

[4] The arrows to the left (←) mark encliticization and relate the interrogative marker *li* to the host to their left, while the arrows to the right (→) mark procliticization and relate the clitics to the host to their right.

(4) a. *Dojde* ← *li* *Petko?*
come.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl Petko
'Did Petko come?'

b. *Mu* → *ja* → *dade* ← *li*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl
knigata?
book+the.F.Sg
'Did you give the book to him?'

2.1.3.1. *Li* can be hosted not only by lexical verbs, but also by the auxiliary *ima* 'have' and the past tense forms of the 'be' auxiliary:

(5) a. *Go* → *imaš* ← *li* *videno* *Petko?*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.2Sg Inter.Cl seen.Past.Part Petko
'Have you seen Petko?'

b. *Ti* → *bea* ← *li* *dojdeni*
2Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Pl.Imperf Inter.Cl come.Pl.Pass.Part
na *gosti* *ќerkite?*
to guests daughters+the.Pl
'Did your daughters visit you?' (lit. 'Did your daughters come as guests to you?')

2.1.3.2. The present tense 'be' auxiliaries do not, as a rule, host *li.* However, when preceding passive participles or nominal predicates they can be stressed and act as clitic hosts:[5]

[5] The 'be' auxiliaries can alternatively occur to the right of passive participles or nominal predicates, in which case they are clitics that in interrogative clauses can follow *li* and, along with it, encliticize to the participle or predicate nominal:

(i) *IZGOREN* ← *li* ← *sum?*
burnt.M.Sg.Pass.Part Inter.Cl be.1Sg.Cl
'Am I burnt?'

(ii) *PRETSEDATEL* ← *li* ← *si?*
president Inter.Cl be.2Sg.Cl
'Are you president?'

(6) a. *%SUM* ← *li* *izgoren?*
be.1Sg Inter.Cl burnt.M.Sg.Pass.Part
'Am I burnt?'

b. *%SI* ← *li* *pretsedatel* *na* *društvoto?*
be.2Sg Inter.Cl president of society+the.N.Sg
'Are you president of the society?'

2.1.3.3. The conditional modal *bi*, which always co-occurs with forms of the *l*-participle, is often followed by *li*:[6]

(7) a. *%BI* ← *li* *došol?*
would.Mod Inter.Cl come.M.Sg.*l*-Part
'Would you come?'

b. *%BI* ← *li* *mi* → *dal* *pari?*
would.Mod Inter.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl given.M.Sg.*l*-Part money
'Would you give me money?'

2.1.3.4. In interrogative clauses with clitic negation markers, *li* encliticizes not to the verb, but rather to the antepenultimately stressed phonological word which the verb forms with the clitic negation marker or with the clitic negation marker plus other clitics.[7]

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[6] As a matter of fact, the clauses in which *bi* is not stressed and cannot be followed by *li* are much rarer. Thus, (i) and (ii) are dispreferred alternatives to (7a) and (7b) respectively:

(i) *%Bi* – *DOŠOL* ← *li?*
would.Mod.Cl come.M.Sg.*l*-Part Inter.Cl
'Would you come?'

(ii) *%Bi* – *mi* – *DAL* ← *li* *pari?*
would.Mod.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl given.M.Sg.*l*-Part Inter.Cl money
'Would you give me money?'

[7] In (8a) the stress falls on the negation clitic, which is the antepenultimate syllable of the phonological word formed by the negation clitics and the verb, in (8b) the stress falls on the pronominal clitic to the left of the verb, since this clitic is the antepenultimate syllable of the phonological word formed by the negation clitic, the pronominal clitic and the verb, while in (8c) the stress falls on the first syllable of the verb, since this syllable represents the antepenultimate syllable of the phonological word formed by the negation marker, the two pronominal clitics and the verb.

As pointed out in section 6.2 of chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology", the negation markers in standard Macedonian are clitic and non-stressed, but in the northwestern Macedonian dialects, as well as in the standard dialect, when used by speakers of these

(8) a. *NE – dojde ← li Jana?*
not.Cl come.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl Jana
'Didn't Jana come?'

b. *Ne – JA – zede ← li knigata?*
not.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl take.2/3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl book+the.F.Sg
'Didn't you/(s)he take the book?'

c. *Ne – mu – ja – PROčita ← li*
not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl
knigata?
book+the.F.Sg
'Didn't you read the book to him?'

2.2. 'Yes–No' Interrogative Markers in Embedded Clauses

Embedded clauses with 'yes–no' questions are most frequently introduced by the complementizer *dali*:[8]

(9) a. *Ne znam dali (Ana) dojde (Ana).*
not know.1Sg whether Ana come.3Sg.Aor Ana

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dialects, they are non-clitic and stressed. The north-western counterparts of (8b) and (8c) are given in (i) and (ii), respectively:

(i) *NE ← ja ZEde ← li knigata?*
not.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl take.2/3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl book+the.F.Sg
'Didn't you/(s)he take the book?'

(ii) *NE ← mu ← ja PROčita ← li*
not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl
knigata?
book+the.F.Sg
'Didn't you read the book to him?'

Whether the negation marker is clitic or not, however, questions with the negation marker *ne*, plus the modal clitic *ќe*, without overt interrogative markers, are much more frequent than analogous types of negated questions with overt interrogative markers.

[8] Post-verbal subjects are less common than preverbal ones.

Embedded question with the interrogative clitic marker *li*, such as (i), are uncommon, but possible:

(i) *Praša dojde li Ana.*
ask.3Sg.Aor come.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl Ana
'(S)he asked whether Ana came.'

(9) b. *Praša* *dali* *(Ana)* *dojde* *(Ana).*
ask.3Sg.Aor whether Ana come.3Sg.Aor Ana
'(S)he asked whether Ana came.'

c. *Kaži* *dali* *ќe* *im* *gi*
say.2Sg.Imper whether will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
vratiš *knigite.*
return.2Sg.Pf.Pres books+the.Pl
'Say whether you will return the books to them!'

2.3. 'Yes–No' Interrogative Markers in Clauses with Negated Future Tenses

The acceptance and position of *li* and *dali* in clauses with negated future tenses with the negation marker *ne,* plus the modal clitic *ќe,* differs from their acceptance and position in clauses with negated future tense with the negative verb *nema,* plus the subjunctive marker *da*.[9]

2.3.1. In 'yes–no' questions with future tenses negated by the verb *nema,* plus the subjunctive marker, both types of interrogative markers, *dali* and *li*, are acceptable, though the use of *dali* is less common. As shown in (10), *dali* occurrs to the left of the negative verb *nema*, while *li* occurs to the right of *nema* and encliticizes to it:

(10) a_1 *Dali* *nema* *da* *dojdeš?*
whether not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres

a_2 *Nema* *li* *da* *dojdeš?*
not+have.3Sg Inter.Cl Subjun.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres
'Aren't you coming?'

b_1 *Dali* *nema* *da* *te* *viknat?*
whether not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Perf.Pres

b_2 *Nema* *li* *da* *te* *viknat?*
not+have.3Sg Inter.Cl Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Perf.Pres
'Aren't they going to invite you?'

2.3.2. In 'yes–no' questions with future tenses negated by the negation marker *ne* plus the modal clitic *ќe,* the complementizer *dali* is hardly acceptable, while the inter-

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Embedded questions without interrogative markers are ruled out.

[9] The two types of negated future tenses are discussed in section 6.3 of chapter 12, entitled "Mood Structures". Note that, with both types of negated future tenses, questions without overt question markers are common and preferred to questions with overt interrogative markers.

rogative clitic *li* appears, though much less frequently than in 'yes–no' questions negated by the negated verb *nema* plus the subjunctive marker:

(11) a_1 *Ne ќe dojdeš li?*
not will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Perf.Pres Inter.Cl

a_2 *??Dali ne ќe dojdeš?*
whether not will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Pf.Pres

'Aren't you coming?'

b_1 *Ne ќe te viknat li?*
not will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl invite.2Pl.Pf.Pres Inter.Cl

b_2 *??Dali ne ќe te viknat?*
whether not will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl invite.2Pl.Pf.Pres

'Aren't they going to invite you?'

2.4. *Li* as a Focus Marker

The interrogative marker *li* is actually a focus marker which can check a [+focus] feature in a focus phrase to the left of CP.[10]

2.4.1. The verbs to which *li* encliticizes are focused:[11]

(12) a. *BARAŠ ← li nešto?*
look-for.2Sg Inter.Cl something

'ARE you looking for something?'

b_1 *Ti ja DADE ← li Petko*
2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl Petko

knigata?
book+the.F.Sg

'DID Petko give you the book?'

[10] *Cf.* King (1995), Rivero (1993), Rudin (1993).

[11] The subject may follow the clitic, as in ($12b_1$) or occur in a topic phrase to its left, as in ($12b_2$). The verb can also be preceded by topicalized nominal phrases, as in (12c), where it is preceded by a topicalized locative adjunct.

(12) b_2 *Petko* *ti* *ja* *DADE* ← *li*
Petko 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl
knigata?
book+the.F.Sg
'As for Petko, DID he give you the book?'

c. *Vo* *Pariz* *ḱe* *ODIŠ* ← *li?*
in/to Paris will.Mod.Cl go.2Sg Inter.Cl
'As for Paris, ARE you going to it?'

2.4.2. *Li* can also appear to the right of and encliticize to a variety of focused nouns, noun phrases or adverbials that have moved to the focus phrase (FocP) to the left of CP, as in (13a–d),[12] or remain *in situ*, as in (13e):

(13) a. *Na* *PETKO* ← *li* *mu* *ja*
to Petko Inter.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
dade *knigata?*
give.2/3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg
'Was it to Petko that you/(s)he gave the book?'

b. *OVAA* *kniga* ← *li* *ja* *kupivte?*
this.F.Sg book Inter.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl buy.2Pl.Aor
'Was it this book that you bought?'

c. *VČERA* ← *li* *dojdovte?*
yesterday Inter.Cl come.2Pl.Aor
'Was it yesterday that you came?'

d. *Vo* *PARIZ* ← *li* *ḱe* *odite?*
in/to Paris Inter.Cl will.Mod.Cl go.2Pl
'Is it to Paris that you will go?'

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[12] *Cf.* section 1.2 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause". Note that more than one constituent can be in FocP:

(i) *TI* *VČERA* ← *li* *ja* *kupi* *knigata?*
you yesterday Inter.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl buy.2Pl.Aor book+the.F.Sg
'Was it yesterday that you bought the book?'

In some dialects, the nominal modifier can be moved to the focus phrase, while the noun is left behind *li*:

(ii) *%OVAA* ← *li* *kniga* *ja* *kupivte?*
this.F.Sg Inter.Cl book 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl buy.2Pl.Aor
'Was it THIS book that you bought?'

(13) e. *Toj* *ќe* *bide* *KAJ* *NIV* ← *li?*
he will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Pf.Pres at them Inter.Cl
'Is it at their place that he will be?'

2.4.3. The non-clitic complementizer *dali* does not occur to the right of focused constituents in FocP in the Left Periphery of the clause, though it may occur to the left of focused constituents which have not moved to FocP in the Left Periphery of the clause, but rather appear in the specifier of the clause, as in (14a), or between the specifier and the verb, as in (14b):[13]

(14) a. *Dali* *ANA* *ti* *ja* *dade*
whether Ana 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
knigata?
book+the.F.Sg
'Was it Ana that gave you the book.'

b. *Dali* *Ana* *na* *PETKO* *mu* *ja*
whether Ana to Petko 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
dade *knigata?*
give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg
'Was it to Petko that Ana gave the book?'

2.4.4. As for the verbs in interrogative clauses with no overt interrogative markers, they can be focused or non-focused and in the latter case can appear to the right of focused nouns, noun phrases or adverbials. The clauses in (12) and (13) actually have correspondent clauses which differ from them only in lacking the interrogative marker *li*:[14]

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[13] Note, however, that not all focused phrases to the right of the verb are equally acceptable in interrogative clauses with the interrogative marker *dali*. Compare (i) to (ii):

(i) *DALI* *dojde* *vreme?*
whether come.3Sg.Aor time
'Has the time come?'

(ii) **Dali* *VREME* *dojde?*
whether time come.3Sg.Aor

Presumably, in subjectless clauses, the focused phrases move to the Left Periphery, which is impossible in interrogative clauses with the interrogative marker *dali*.

[14] Note that focused phrases in the Left Periphery are much less common in interrogative clauses with no overt interrogative markers than in interrogative clauses with the interrogative marker *li*. There are cases when the focused phrases in the Left Periphery have to be followed by the interrogative marker *li*. Examine the acceptability of (i) and (ii):

(15) a. *BARAŠ* *nešto?*
look-for.2Sg something
'ARE you looking for something?'

b_1 *Ti* *ja* *DADE* *Petko* *knigata?*
2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor Petko book+the.F.Sg
'DID Petko give you the book?'

b_2 *Petko* *ti* *ja* *DADE* *knigata?*
Petko 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg
'As for Petko, DID he give you the book?'

c. *Vo* *Pariz* *ќe* *ODITE?*
in/to Paris will.Mod.Cl go.2Pl
'Is it to Paris that you will go?'

(16) a. *Na* *PETKO* *mu* *ja* *dade*
to Petko 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
knigata?
book+the.F.Sg
'Was it to Petko that you gave the book?'

b. *OVAA* *kniga* *ja* *kupivte?*
this.F.Sg book 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl buy.2Pl.Aor
'Was it this book that you bought?'

c. *VČERA* *dojdovte?*
yesterday come.2Pl.Aor
'Was it yesterday that you came?'

d. *Vo* *PARIZ* *ќe* *odite?*
in/to Paris will.Mod.Cl go.2Pl
'Is it to Paris that you will go?'

The correspondence between the interrogative clauses with no overt interrogative markers and those with the interrogative marker *li* might lead to the conclusion that

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(i) *KONFERENCIJA* ← *li* *ima?*
conference Inter.Cl have.3Sg
'Is it a conference that is being held (in this building)?'

(ii) **KONFERENCIJA* *ima?*
conference have.3Sg

the former clauses are interrogative clauses from which the interrogative marker *li* has been deleted.

2.5. Marked Alternatives for *dali*

Three interrogative markers can replace *dali* in marked interrogative clauses: *zar/zarem,*[15] *da-ne,* and *neli.*

2.5.1. *Zar/zarem* expresses surprise and can be translated as 'really':

(17) a. *Zar(em)* *znaeš* *što* *se* *sluči*
really know.2Sg what Acc.Refl.Cl happen.3Sg.Aor
'Do you really know what happened?'

b. *Zar* *ti* *go* *dadoa?*
really 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Aor
'Did they really give it to you?'

c. *Zar(em)* *ne* *sakaš* *pari?*
whether-really not want.2Sg money
'Do you really not want money?'

2.5.2. In *da ne* interrogative clauses the agreement marker *da* 'yes', formally equivalent to the subjunctive marker *da*, is followed by the disagreement marker *ne* 'no'. But these clauses express possibility and, both notionally and phonologically,[16] differ from clauses in which the negation marker follows a subjunctive marker. Compare (18a) to (19a), (18b) to (19b), and (18c) to (19c):

(18) a. *DA – ne* *BAraš* *pari?*
yes no ask-for.2Sg money
'Are(n't) you possibly asking for money?'

b. *DA – ne* *im* → *gi* → *NOsite*
yes no 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl carry.2Pl.Perf.Pres
kuferite?
suitcases+the.Pl
'Are(n't) you possibly carrying their suitcases?'

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[15] *Zarem* is a less preferred alternative of *zar.*

[16] Whereas the sequence agreement and disagreement markers are stressed independently, the subjunctive marker and the negation marker form an antepenultimately stressed phonological word with the verb and all the clitics preceding it.

(18) c. *DA – ne ne – DOaġa Ana?*
yes no not.Cl come.3Sg Ana
'Is it possible that Ana is not coming?'

(19) a. *Da – NE – baraš pari!*
Subjun.Mark not.Cl ask-for.2Sg money
'Don't ask for money!'

b. *Da – ne – im – gi – NOsite*
Subjun.Mark not.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl carry.2Pl
kuferite!
suitcases+the.Pl
'Don't carry their suitcases!'

c. *Rečete ì na Ana da – NE –*
tell.2Pl.Imper 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl to Ana Subjun.Mark not.Cl
dava pari.
give.3Sg money
'Tell Ana not to give money!'

2.5.3. In *neli* interrogative clauses the negation marker *ne* 'not' is followed by the interrogative marker *li*. But *neli* is a tag question which can occur at the beginning or at the end of both non-negated and negated interrogative clauses:[17]

(20) a_1 *Neli dojde sestra ti?*
not+Inter.Mark come.3Sg.Aor sister 2Sg.Dat.Cl

a_2 *Sestra ti dojde, neli?*
sister 2Sg.Dat.Cl come.3Sg.Aor not+Inter.Mark
'Your sister came, didn't she?'

[17] Rudin *at al.* (1999) claim that *neli* is a negative question in which *li* follows a stressed *ne*. On the Internet, one can in fact come across examples which may be or have been given the interpretation that Rudin *et al.* assign to *neli*, but as noted by Minova-Ġurkova (1987), such examples are mistakes unavoidable in a standard language with a short history. Even if we wish to preclude the designation 'mistakes', these interpretations are controversial and marginal, and should not be admitted as evidence for a theoretical claim.

(20) b_1 *Neli* *ti* *go* *dadoa*
not+Inter.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Aor
podarokot?
present+the.M.Sg

b_2 *Ti* *go* *dadoa* *podarokot,*
2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Aor present+the.M.Sg
neli?
not+Inter.Mark
'They gave you the present, didn't they?'

c_1 *Neli* *ne* *dobi* *podarok?*
not+Inter.Mark not get.2/3Sg.Aor present

c_2 *Ne* *dobi* *podarok,* *neli?*
not get.2/3Sg.Aor present not+Inter.Mark
'You/(sh)e didn't get a present, did you?'

d_1 *Neli* *ne* *ti* *dadoa* *podarok?*
not+Inter.Mark not 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Pl.Aor present

d_2 *Ne* *ti* *dadoa* *podarok,* *neli?*
not 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Pl.Aor present not+Inter.Mark
'They didn't give you a present, did they?'

3. 'Wh' Interrogative Clauses

There are simple or embedded 'wh' interrogative clauses with any type of 'wh' words.[18]

3.1. Syntactic and Prosodic Analysis

Alone or along with the nouns they may modify, the Macedonian 'wh' interrogative words or phrases with 'wh' words are most often raised from various positions in the clause to the complementizer[19] and, depending on the dialect, are stressed independently or form a single phonological word with the items following them.[20]

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[18] The types of 'wh' words are discussed and exemplified in section 4 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

[19] Like the 'wh' interrogative words of many Indo-European languages, the Macedonian 'wh' interrogative words may remain *in situ*. Examples:

3.1.1. In (21) we have interrogative clauses with 'wh' words functioning as pronouns.[21]

(21) a_1 *KOJ DOnese poDAroci?*

a_2 *Koj – DOnese poDAroci?*
who bring.3Sg.Aor presents
'Who brought presents?'

b_1 *KOmu DAde poDAroci?*

b_2 *KoMU – dade poDAroci?*
whom.Dat give.2/3Sg.Aor presents
'To whom did you/(s)he give presents?'

c_1 *ŠTO SAkate?*

c_2 *Što – SAkate?*
what want.2Pl
'What do you want?'

3.1.2. In (22) we have interrogative clauses with 'wh' words functioning as modifiers.[22]

(i) *Podarocite ti gi donese KOJ?*
presents 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl bring.3Sg.Aor who
'The presents were brought to you by whom?'

(ii) *Ti vide KOgo?*
you see.2Sg.Aor who.M.Sg.Acc
'You saw whom?'

But clauses with in situ 'wh' interrogative words are marked and much less frequent than those with fronted ones.

[20] In the eastern and northern Macedonian dialects, the 'wh' words are stressed independently, while in the western dialects they form a single phonological word with the items following them. In the standard language both choices are possible.

[21] In these examples, the 'wh' words occur to the immediate left of the verb. In section 6.2.4 of chapter 4, entitled "An Outline of Macedonian Phonology", we have examples of prosodic analysis of interrogative clauses with pronominal and auxiliary clitics between the 'wh' word and the verb.

[22] The verb is in this case always stressed independently.

(22) a_1 *KAkov* *FUStan* *SAkaš?*

a_2 *KaKOV* – *fustan* *SAkaš?*
what-kind.M.Sg dress want.2Sg

'What kind of a dress do you want?'

b_1 *KOLkava* *PAuza* *PRAvite?*

b_2 *%Kolka* – *PAuza* *PRAvite?*
what-size.F.Sg pause do.2Pl

'How long a pause do you have?'

c_1 *ČIi* *KONduri* *OBleče?*

c_2 *Čii* – *KONduri* *OBleče?*
whose.Pl shoes put-on.2/3Sg.Aor

'Whose shoes did you/(s)he put on?'

3.1.3. In (23) we have interrogative clauses with adverbial 'wh' words:

(23) a_1 *KOga* *Odiš?*

a_2 *KoGA* – *odiš?*
when go.2Sg

'When are you going?'

b_1 *KAde* *SPIe* *DEteto?*

b_2 *%KAJ* – *spie* *DEteto?*
where sleep.3Sg child+the.N.Sg

'Where is the child sleeping?'

c_1 *KAko* *DOjde?*

c_2 *KaKO* – *dojde?*
how come.2/3Sg.Aor

'How did you/(s)he come?'

3.2. Usage of 'wh' Words in Questions with Bare Subjunctives

Interrogative clauses with 'wh' words can be used in questions with bare subjunctives:[23]

[23] Note that in a negated subjunctive clause the 'wh' word *kako* 'how' can have a distinct meaning:

(26) a. *Kogo da pokanime?*
whom Subjun.Mark invite.1Pl.Pf.Pres
'Whom should we invite?'

b. *Što da ti dadam?*
what Subjun.Mark you.2Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'What should I give you?'

c. *Kakov fustan da kupam?*
what-kind.M.Sg dress Subjun.Mark buy.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'What kind (of a dress) should I buy?'

d. *Kako da te najdam?*
how Subjun.Mark you.2Sg.Acc.Cl find.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'How should I find you?'

e. *Zošto da ne se veselam?*
why Subjun.Mark not Acc.Refl.Cl rejoice.1Sg
'Why shouldn't I rejoice?'

3.3. Usage of 'wh' Words in Embedded Interrogative Clauses

Any 'wh' word can occur in clause-initial position in embedded interrogative clauses:

(27) a. *Ne znam koj dojde.*
not know.1Sg who come.3Sg.Aor
'I do not know who came.'

b. *Praša kakva kniga baraš.*
ask.3Sg.Aor what-kind.F.Sg book look-for.2Sg
'(S)he asked what kind of a book you want.'

c. *Kaži što sakaš!*
say.2Sg.Imper what want.2Sg
'Say what it is you want!'

d. *Znae kade ќe odat.*
know.3Sg where will.Mod.Cl go.3Pl
'(S)he knows where they will go.'

(i) *Kako da ne se smeam?*
how Subjun.Mark not Acc.Refl.Cl laugh.1Sg
'How can I not laugh?', i.e., 'I can't keep from laughing.'

3.4. Embedded Subjunctive Clauses with 'wh' Words

Embedded subjunctive clauses can have 'wh' subjects, objects or adjuncts raised to clause-initial position.

(28) a. *Odlučija koj da gi pretstavuva.*
decide.3Pl.Aor who Subjun.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl represent.3Sg
'They decided who should represent them.'

b. *Razmisluva komu da poveruva.*
contemplate.3Sg whom.Dat Subjun.Mark trust.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he is contemplating who to trust.'

c. *Ne znam što da pravam.*
not know.1Sg what Subjun.Mark do.1Sg
'I do not know what to do.'

d. *Ne razbiraat zošto da ti*
not understand.3Pl why Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl
gi dadat parite.
3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Pf.Pres money+the.Pl
'They do not understand why they should give you the money.'

e. *Učam (kako)*[24] *da pišuvam so penkalo.*
learn.1Sg how Subjun.Mark write.1Sg with fountain-pen
'I am learning how to write with a fountain pen.'

3.4.1. A special type of embedded subjunctive clauses with 'wh' words are complements of verbs expressing (a) assertion or denial of existence or (b) coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (*cf.* Grosu 2004: 406).[25]

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[24] Subjunctive clauses that include the 'wh' adjunct *kako* 'how' occur most frequently as complements of verbs of learning, such as *uči* 'learn/teach', *vežba* 'practice', or *znae* 'know'. The adjunct *kako* 'how' can be deleted with no effect on the meaning of the sentence.

[25] Grosu (2004) refers to subjunctive complements with 'wh' arguments or adjuncts as "modal existential 'wh' constructions" (MECs), and argues that they have the superficial appearance of 'wh' clauses, but the semantics of a narrow-scope existential generalized quantifiers (GQs). Building on Grosu (1994), Grosu and Landman (1998), and Izvorski (1998), and modifying some of the views in these works, Grosu (2004) proposes that MECs are non-core relative constructions consisting of a bare CP which carries the feature [GQ], as well as a specification of its particular modality. Cross-linguistic distribution is captured by extensions of subcategorization options from nominal to CP arguments, such extensions being potentially 'licensed' by se-

3.4.1.1. In Macedonian, assertion or denial of existence is expressed by the existential verb *ima* 'have' or its negative counterpart *nema* 'not+have', which, unlike the modal verbs *ima* and *nema*, can be not only impersonal, but also personal. Examples of subjunctive complements with 'wh' arguments or adjuncts of *ima/nema* are given in (29):[26]

(29) a. *Ima* *koj* *da* *mi* *pomogne.*
have.3Sg who Subjun.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'There is someone to help me.'

b. *Imame* *komu* *da* *davame.*
have.1Pl whom.Dat Subjun.Mark give.1Pl
'We have someone to whom we can give (whatever we have).'

c. *Ima* *što* *da* *kupiš* *vo* *ovoj*
have.3Sg what Subjun.Mark buy.2Sg.Pf.Pres in this.M.Prox1
duќan.
shop
'There are things you can buy in this shop.' (lit. 'There is what to buy in this shop.')

d. *Nema* *što* *da* *se* *pravi.*
not+have.3Sg what Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl do.3Sg
'There is nothing one can do.'

e. *Nemaat* *kon* *kogo* *da*
not+have.3Pl towards whom.Acc Subjun.Mark
se *svrtat.*
Acc.Refl.Cl turn.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'They have no one to turn to.'

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mantic-pragmatic properties of the matrix predicates in conjunction with the larger context, in the sense that they constitute necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for extension.

[26] Analogous constructions can sometimes be constructed with indefinite pronouns with a 'wh' component, such as:

(i) *Ima* *nešto* *da* *ti* *kaže.*
have.3Sg something Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'(S)he has something to tell you.'

(ii) *Nemam* *ništo* *da* *ti* *dadam.*
not+have.1Sg nothing Subjun.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'I have nothing to give to you.'

(29) f. *Nema za što da se fatat.*
not+have.3Sg for what Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl catch.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'There is nothing they can hold onto.' (lit. 'There isn't what to catch.')

g. *Nema kako da go*
not+have.3Sg how Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
pratiš paketot.
send.2Sg.Pf.Pres parcel+the.M.Sg
'There is no way you can send the parcel.'

3.4.1.2. Coming into view or availability or causing something to be visible or available can be expressed by a variety of verbs, but not all of them take existential subjunctive clauses. In (30), we have subjunctive complements with 'wh' arguments/adjuncts of the verbs *izbira* 'choose' and *naoǵa* 'find':

(30) a. *Izbra koj da ja*
choose.3Sg.Aor who Subjun.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
zameni.
replace.3Sg.Pf.Pres
'She chose someone to take her place.'

b. *Najdov so što da se*
find.1Sg.Aor with what Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
pokrijam.
cover.1Sg.Pf.Pres
'I found something with which to cover myself.'

3.5. 'Wh' Words Followed by the Interrogative Marker *li*

The interrogative marker *li* can occur to the immediate right of stressed, i.e., nonclitic 'wh' words in interrogative clauses expressing wonderment:

(31) a. *KOJ li dojde?*
who Inter.Cl come.3Sg.Aor
'Who is it that came, I wonder?!'

b. *ŠTO li najde?*
what Inter.Cl find.2/3Sg.Aor
'What is it that you/(s)he found, I wonder?!'

(31) c. *ČIJ li konduri obleče?*
whose Inter.Cl shoes put-on.2/3Sg.Aor
'Whose shoes did you/(s)he put on, I wonder?!'

d. *KOLku li knigi imaš?*
how-many Inter.Cl books have.2Sg
'How many (books) do you have, I wonder?!'

3.5.1. According to Elson (1993), *li* occurs to the immediate right of stressed 'wh' words and never to the right of the verb with which the 'wh' often makes a single antepenultimately stressed phonological word (*cf.* section 2.1.1 above), because the 'wh' + verb sequence does not constitute a syntactic constituent as phonological words usually do. Rudin *et al.*, on the other hand, argue that *li* does not occur to the right of the phonological words made by a 'wh' word and a verb, or a 'wh' word and a noun, because in this case the 'wh' word would not be stressed, while 'wh'+*li* specifically indicates semantic emphasis on the 'wh' element. The *li* to the left of the 'wh' words, however, differs from the interrogative markers occurring in 'yes–no' questions and the fact that it can follow stressed 'wh' words should not be connected with the occurrence of *li* in 'yes–no' questions.

3.6. Multiple 'wh' Questions

Many Indo-European languages form 'wh' questions by employing syntactic fronting of 'wh' constituents to initial position. There is, however, a difference not only as to whether these languages can or cannot have more than one 'wh' constituent in a clause, but also as to whether only one of two or more 'wh' constituent in a clause can be raised to clause-initial position. In contrast to English, where only one of two or more 'wh' constituents existing in a clause can undergo syntactic fronting, in the Slavic languages all the 'wh' constituents that exist in a clause can be fronted. Thus, while in English ($32a_2$) is not a well-formed clause, its Macedonian counterpart ($32b_2$) is not only well-formed but preferred to ($32b_1$)—the counterpart of ($32a_1$):

(32) a_1 Who got what?

a_2 *Who what got?

(32) b_1 *?Koj dobi što?*
who get.3Sg.Aor what

b_2 *Koj što dobi?*
who what get.3Sg.Aor

3.6.1. Referring to the languages in which all the 'wh' constituents that exist in a clause can be fronted as "multiple 'wh' fronting languages", Rudin (1988a, 1988b) formalizes a distinction in the possibility for adjunction in the specifier of the complement phrase (CP), where the 'wh' constituents are raised, and juxtaposes the [+ multiple filled specifier 'wh' fronting] languages to the [− multiple filled specifier 'wh' fronting] languages.[27] She claims that the [+ multiple filled specifier 'wh' fronting] languages predict a consistent correlation of four properties: (a) rigor of ordering among the 'wh' constituents, (b) no break between the fronted 'wh' constituents, (c) obligatory fronting of all the 'wh' constituents existing in a clause, and (d) no 'wh' -island effects. In the [− multiple filled specifier 'wh' fronting] languages, on the other hand, according to Rudin, (a) the ordering of the 'wh' constituents is not syntactically constrained, (b) there is a break after the first 'wh' constituent, (c) only a single 'wh' constituent can be extracted out of the embedded clause, and (d) the 'wh' clause is a syntactic island. Macedonian data, however, lend only partial support to the predicted correlation of properties.

3.6.2. The Macedonian 'wh' constituent representing the subject is, as a rule, placed in a clause-initial position, but the ordering of the other 'wh' constituents may vary:

(33) a. *Koj* *što* *komu* *koga* *kako* *mu* *dade?*
who what whom.Dat when how 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
'Who gave what to when, where, and how?'

b. *Koj* *komu* *što* *koga* *kako* *mu* *dade?*
who whom.Dat what when how 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
'Who gave what to when, where, and how?'

c. *Koj* *koga* *što* *komu* *kako* *mu* *dade?*
who when what whom.Dat how 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
'Who gave what to whom, when, where, and how?'

3.6.2.1. When strongly emphasized, another 'wh' constituent can appear to the immediate left of the 'wh' constituent representing the subject:

(34) a. *ŠTO* *koj* *komu* *dolži?*
what who whom.Dat owe.3Sg
'WHAT does who owe to whom?'

[27] Rudin (1988a) qualifies Bulgarian as a [+ multiple filled specifier 'wh' fronting] language and Polish, Serbo-Croatian, and Czech as [− multiple filled specifier 'wh' fronting] languages.

(34) b. *KOMU koj što koga kako dade?*
whom.Dat who what when how give.3Sg.Aor
'To WHOM did who give what when and how?'

c. *KADE koj ќе sedi?*
where who will.Mod.Cl sit.3Sg
'Where will who sit?'

3.6.3. Parentheticals and sentential adverbs, as a rule, occur between the string of fronted 'wh' constituents and the verb, as in (35a_1–a_2), but when there is a strongly emphasized 'wh' constituent, the string of 'wh' constituents can be split, as in (35b_1–b_2):

(35) a_1 *Koj kogo, spored tebe, pretepa?*
who whom.Acc according you.Acc beat.3Sg.Aor
'Who, according to you, beat whom?'

a_2 *Koj što komu včera dade?*
who what whom.Acc yesterday give.3Sg.Aor
'Who gave what to whom yesterday?'

b_1 *Koj, spored tebe, KOGO pretepa?*
what according you.Acc whom.Acc beat.3Sg.Aor
'Who, according to you, beat WHOM?'

b_2 *ŠTO, včera, koj komu dade?*
what yesterday who whom.Dat give.3Sg.Aor
'WHO yesterday gave what to whom?'

3.6.4. Though the fronting of all the Macedonian multiple 'wh' constituents is preferred, clauses in which some of the 'wh' constituents are fronted, while other constituents remain *in situ*, are not excluded (*cf.* 35b_1).

3.6.5. We may conclude that Macedonian is a basically [+ multiple filled specifier 'wh' fronting] language in which the properties characteristic for it are not strictly adhered to.[28]

[28] Macedonian is not the only Slavic language in which there is no strict adherence to the expected behavior of the multiply fronted 'wh' constituents. Golden (1997) shows that Slovenian—a basically [–multiple filled specifier 'wh' fronting] language—allows for extraction of multiple 'wh' words out of embedded tensed clauses and exhibits no 'wh' island effects.

Chapter 14

Relative Clauses

1. Types of Relative Clauses

In Macedonian, there are three types of subordinate clauses introduced by 'wh' words which can be referred to as 'relative': (a) clauses that relate to and modify nouns, to which we shall refer as "noun-antecedent relative clauses", (b) clauses that relate to and modify pronouns, to which we shall refer as "pronoun-antecedent relative clauses", and (c) clauses which occur without antecedents and impart information that is indirectly related to the information contained in the root clause, to which we shall refer as "free relative clauses".

(1) a. *Studentot* *kojšto* *ќe* *pobedi*
student+the.M.Sg who.M.Sg+that will.Mod.Cl win.3Sg.Pf.Pres

ќe *odi* *vo* *Pariz.*
will.Mod.Cl go.3Sg in Paris

'The student that wins will go to Paris.'

b. *Toj* *kojšto* *ќe* *pobedi*
that.M.Sg who.M.Sg+that will.Mod.Cl win.3Sg.Pf.Pres

ќe *odi* *vo* *Pariz.*
will.Mod.Cl go.3Sg in Paris

'The one that wins will go to Paris.'

c. *Kojšto* *ќe* *pobedi* *ќe*
who.M.Sg+that will.Mod.Cl win.3Sg.Pf.Pres will.Mod.Cl

odi *vo* *Pariz.*
go.3Sg in Paris

'Whoever wins will go to Paris.'

2. Noun-Antecedent Relative Clauses

The noun-antecedent relative clauses can be restrictive or appositive, the former restricting the reference to the head nouns, i.e., the nouns they modify, the latter serving as parenthetical comments or afterthoughts. Though there is no difference in the types of nouns that can be modified by restrictive or by appositive relative clauses, these

two types of relative clauses are referentially different: while the nouns modified by restricttive relative clauses cannot have unique reference before the relative clause is added,[1] the nouns modified by appositive relative clauses are generic or have unique reference.[2] Thus, ($2a_1$) is not acceptable because the restrictive relative clause refers to a definite noun which has unique reference independent of the relative clause, while ($2b_2$) is not acceptable because the appositive relative clause refers to a definite noun with non-unique reference.

(2) a_1 **Jana kojašto dojde včera nema*
Jana who.F.Sg+that come.3Sg.Aor yesterday not+have.3Sg
da odi so nas.
Subjun.Mark go.3Sg with us

a_2 *Jana, kojašto dojde včera, nema*
Jana who.F.Sg+that come.3Sg.Aor yesterday not+have.3Sg
da odi so nas.
Subjun.Mark go.3Sg with us
'Jana, who came yesterday, will not go with us.'

b_1 *Pretstavite koišto Marina gi*
performances+the.Pl which.Pl+that Marina 3Pl.Acc.Cl
preporača, se otkažani.
recommend.3Sg.Aor be.3Sg cancelled.Pl.Pass.Part
'The performances that Marina recommended have been cancelled.'

b_2 **Pretstavite, koišto Marina gi*
performances+the.Pl which.Pl+that Marina 3Pl.Acc.Cl
preporača, se otkažani.
recommend.3Sg.Aor be.3Sg cancelled.Pl.Pass.Part

2.1. Relativizers of Restrictive Noun-Antecedent Relative Clauses

Relativizers of restrictive noun-antecedent relative clauses can be (a) the invariant 'wh' word *što* 'that',[3] (b) the inflecting 'wh' words *koj* 'who/which', *čij* 'whose',

[1] The relative clause helps them attain unique reference.

[2] The appositive clauses begin and end by pauses, which are represented by commas.

[3] Since *što* 'that' has been traditionally used in vernacular dialects, prescriptivists recommend it to be used whenever possible, i.e., in all relative clauses, except in those where the relativizers function as objects of prepositions, in which case the complex, "double" relativizers—sequences of forms of *koj* and *što*—should be used. (*cf.* Minova-Ǵurkova 2000: 262). But actual

kakov 'of a kind' and *kolkav* 'of a size', all of which are often accompanied by the invariant 'wh' word *što* 'that', and (c) the adverbial 'wh' words *koga* 'when', *kade* 'where', *kako* 'how', *kolku* 'as many/much as', all but the first one of which have to be accompanied by *što*.[4] Each of the 'wh' relativizers *koj* 'who/which', *čij* 'whose', *kakov* 'of a kind', and *kolkav* 'of a size', has three forms representing different genders with singular number and a distinct form representing the plural number correlating with all singular forms; the masculine singular form *koj* also has distinct accusative and dative forms.

Table 1. Forms of the Relativizers *koj* 'who/which', *čij* 'whose', *kakov* 'of a kind', and *kolkav* 'of a size'

M.Sg	*koj*	*čij*	*kakov*	*kolkav*
M.Sg.Acc	*kogo*	–	–	–
M.Sg.Dat	*komu*	–	–	–
F.Sg	*koja*	*čija*	*kakva*	*kolkava*
N.Sg	*koe*	*čie*	*kakvo*	*kolkavo*
Pl	*koi*	*čii*	*kakvi*	*kolkavi*

2.1.1. The invariant relativizer *što* 'that', forms of the inflecting relativizer *koj* 'who/which', and sequences of forms of *koj* and *što* can function as subjects, direct objects, or indirect objects of relative clauses, while forms of the inflecting relativizer *koj* 'who/which', often accompanied by the invariant relativizer *što*, function as objects of prepositions of relative clauses.

2.1.1.1. When *što*, forms of *koj* or sequences of *koj* and *što*, function as subjects of relative clauses, the forms of *koj* agree with the gender/number features of the head noun:

(3) a. *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek* *što/* *koj/* *kojšto*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man that who.M.Sg who.M.Sg+that

dojde *včera...*
come.3Sg.Aor yesterday

'The man/a man that came yesterday...'

usage varies. Thus, in the northern dialects, bordering with southern Serbian dialects, *koj* 'who/which' is regularly used, while in the western dialects *što* 'what/that' is the most frequent relativizer. In the Macedonian standard language, however, all three possibilities are used, with some differences between age groups, reflecting current recommendations by grammarians.

[4] *Što* is added without a space after *koj* 'who/which' and *čij* 'whose' and is written as a separate word in all other cases.

(3) b. *Ženata/* *edna* *žena* *što/* *koja/*
woman+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg woman that who.F.Sg

kojašto *dojde* *včera...*
who.F.Sg+that come.3Sg.Aor yesterday

'The woman/a woman that came yesterday...'

c. *Deteto/* *edno* *dete* *što/* *koe/*
child+the.N.Sg a.N.Sg child that who.N.Sg

koešto *dojde* *včera...*
who.N.Sg+that come.3Sg.Aor yesterday

'The child/a child that came yesterday...'

d. *Studentite/* *edni* *studenti* *što/* *koi/*
students+the.M.Pl a.Pl students that who.Pl

koišto *dojdoa* *včera...*
who.Pl+that come.3Pl.Aor yesterday

'The students/some students that came yesterday...'

2.1.1.2. When forms of *koj,* or forms of *koj* followed by *što,* function as objects of prepositions, the forms of *koj* agree with the gender, number, and humanness features of the head noun:[5]

(4) a. *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek* *za* *kogo(što)*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man for whom.M.Sg.Acc+that

se *zboruva...*
Refl.Acc.Cl talk.3Sg

'The man/a man one talks about...'

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[5] Note that, in this case, human masculine singular objects of prepositions are represented by the masculine singular Acc form of *koj, kogo*, while non-human masculine singular objects of preposition are represented by the Nomin form.

Also note that, in the vernacular, we may have *što,* followed by a verb form and a prepositional phrase with a non-clitic pronoun in the Acc case (*cf.* Minova-G'urkova 2000: 262):

(i) *%Te* *baraše* *drugarot* *što* *beše* *so*
2Sg.Acc.Cl look-for.3Sg.Imperf friend+the.M.Sg that be.2Sg.Imperf with

nego *vo* *Negotino.*
him.Acc in Negotino

'The friend with whom you were in Negotino was looking for you.'

(4) b. *Proektot/* *eden* *proekt* *na* *koj(što)*
project+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg project on which.M.Sg+that

rabotime...
work.1Pl

'The project/a project on which we work...'

c. *Ženata/* *edna* *žena* *so* *koja(što)*
woman+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg woman with which.F.Sg+that

se *sretnav...*
Acc.Refl.Cl meet.1Sg.Aor

'The woman/a woman whom I met...'

d. *Deteto/* *edno* *dete* *za* *koe(što)*
child+the.N.Sg a.N.Sg child to which.N.Sg+that

sum *čula...*
be.1Sg heard.F.Sg.*l*-Part

'The child/a child I have heard about...'

e. *Studentite/* *edni* *studenti* *do* *koi(što)* *sedevme...*
students+the.Pl a.Pl students to which.Pl+that sit.1Pl.Imperf

'The students/some students close to which we were sitting...'

f. *Zemji* *za* *koi(što)* *sum* *slušal...*
countries about which.Pl+that be.1Sg heard.M.Sg.*l*-Part

'Countries of which I have heard...'

2.1.1.3. When *što,* forms of *koj* or forms of *koj* followed by *što* function as direct or indirect objects, they co-occur with resumptive accusative pronominal clitics, which agree in gender/number with the objects.[6]

2.1.2. The forms of the relativizers *kakov* 'of a kind' and *kolkav* 'of a size', which agree with the gender/number features of the head noun, and in the standard dialect are regularly followed by the relativizer *što* 'that',[7] may modify only indefinite nouns.[8] In (7a) these relativizers function as subjects; in (7b) as direct objects:

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[6] These relative clauses are discussed in sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.5 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause".

[7] In the colloquial dialect the two relativisers are conjoined.

[8] When a relative clause with the relativizer *kakov* 'of a kind' or *kolkav* 'of a size' modifies a head noun conceived of as one of many, the relativizer may occur in the plural, referring to a group of objects of which the head noun is a member (*cf.* Friedman 2003: 241):

(7) a_1 *sladoled* *kakov* *što* *ne* *se* *prodava...*
ice-cream.M.Sg of-a-kind.M.Sg that not Acc.Refl.Cl sell.3Sg
'an ice-cream of a kind that is not being sold...'

a_2 *lubenica* *kakva* *što* *nema* *ovde...*
watermelon.F.Sg of-a-kind.F.Sg that not+have.3Sg here
'a watermelon of a kind that is not found here...'

a_3 *jabolko* *kakvo* *što* *ne* *e* *za* *jadenje...*
apple.N.Sg of-a-kind.N.Sg that not be.3Sg for eating
'an apple of a kind that is not for eating...'

a_4 *prijateli* *kakvi* *što* *se* *baraat...*
friends.Pl of-a-kind.Pl that Acc.Refl.Cl look-for.3Pl
'friends of the kind that are looked for...'

b_1 *sladoled* *kakov* *što* *vie* *bendisuvate...*
ice cream.M.Sg of-a-kind.M.Sg that you.Pl like.2Pl
'an ice cream of the kind that you like...'

b_2 *lubenica* *kolkava* *što* *ne* *ste* *videle...*
water-melon.F.Sg of-a-size.F.Sg that not be.2Pl seen.Pl.*l*-Part
'a watermelon of a size that you haven't seen...'

b_3 *jabolko* *kolkavo* *što* *ne* *ste* *jale...*
apple.N.Sg of-a-size.N.Sg that not be.2Pl eaten.Pl.*l*-Part
'an apple of a size that you haven't eaten...'

b_4 *košarkaši* *kolkavi* *što* *ne* *ste* *videle...*
basketball-players.Pl of-a-size.Pl that not be.2Pl seen.2Pl.*l*-Part
'basketball players of a size that you haven't seen...'

2.1.3. The forms of the 'wh' relativizer *čij* 'whose', often accompanied by the invariant general relativizer *što* 'that', occur as modifiers of nouns functioning as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, or objects of prepositions in various relative clauses. The head nouns may have different gender, number, and definiteness status,

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(i) *Vidov* *edna* *takva* *kuќa* *kakvi* *što* *ne*
see.1Sg.Aor a.F.Sg such.F.Sg house of-a-kind.Pl that not
se *sreќavaat* *vo* *toj* *kraj*
Acc.Refl.Cl meet.3Pl in that.M.Sg region
'I saw a house such as are not met with in that region.'

but this does not influence the form of *čij*, which always agrees in the gender and number of the noun it modifies.

2.1.3.1. In (8a) we have examples of *čij(što)* modifying nouns functioning as subjects, while in (8b) we have examples of *čij(što)* modifying nouns functioning as objects of prepositions.[9]

(8) a$_1$ *Čovekot/* *eden* *čovek* *čija(što)* *kola*
man+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg man whose.F.Sg+that car

e *ukradena...*
be.3Sg stolen.F.Sg.Pass.Part

'The man/a man whose car has been stolen...'

a$_2$ *Deteto/* *edno* *dete* *čii(što)* *roditeli*
child+the.N.Sg a.N.Sg child whose.Pl+that parents

dojdoa...
come.3Pl.Aor

'The child/a child whose parents came...'

a$_3$ *Crkvata/* *edna* *crkva* *čij(što)*
church+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg church whose.M.Sg+that

oltar *e* *obnoven...*
altar be.3Sg refurbished.M.Sg.Pass.Part

'The church/a church whose altar has been refurbished...'

b$_1$ *Ženata/* *edna* *žena* *so* *čij(što)*
woman+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg woman with whose.M.Sg+that

sin *rabotam...*
son work.1Sg

'The woman/a woman with whose son I am working...'

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[9] Note that in the vernacular, instead of *čij* 'whose', the invariant 'wh' word *što* 'that', accompanied by a clitic pronoun and placed to the right of the modifying noun, may be used. The following example is from Minova-Ǵurkova (2000: 262):

(i) *%Ja* *sretnav* *doktorkata,* *mazot*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl meet.1Sg.Aor female-doctor+the.F.Sg husband+the.M.Sg

što *i* *e* *pisatel.*
that 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl be.3Sg writer

'I met the doctor whose husband is a writer.'

(8) b_2 *Crkvata* *za* *čij(što)* *oltar* *e*
church+the.F.Sg for whose.M.Sg+what altar be.3Sg

kupen *krstot...*
bought.M.Sg.Pass.Part cross+the.M.Sg

'The church for whose altar a cross was bought...'

b_3 *Kompanijata/* *edna* *kompanija* *so*
company+the.F.Sg a.F.Sg company with

čii(što) *avioni* *letame...*
whose.Pl+that airplanes fly.1Pl

'The company/a company with whose airplanes we are flying...'

2.1.3.2. When the noun modified by the 'wh' relativizer *čij* 'whose' functions as a direct or indirect object, it must co-occur with an accusative resumptive clitic that agrees in gender and number with the modified noun and the modifier *čij* and not with its referent.[10]

2.1.4. The adverbial 'wh' words *koga* 'when', *kade* 'where', *kako* 'how', *kolku* 'as-many/much as', the latter three of which have to be accompanied by *što*, relate to nouns which themselves denote time, place, manner, or quantity, or are preceded by modifiers denoting time, place, manner, or quantity. Examples:[11]

(9) a. *Dojde* *godinata* *koga* *se*
come.3Sg.Aor year+the.F.Sg when Acc.Refl.Cl

slučи *zemjotresot.*
happen.3Sg.Aor earthquake+the.M.Sg

'The year during which the earthquake happened came.'

b. *Go* *posetivme* *mestoto* *kade* *što*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl visit.1Pl.Aor place+the.N.Sg where that

zaginal.
get-killed.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part

'We visited the place where he had been killed.'

[10] Examples are given in section 4.3.6 of chapter 9, entitled "The Structure of the Clause".

[11] The examples are from Minova-Ǵurkova (2000: 258–61).

(9) c. *Ḱe* *te* *čekam* *tolku* *godini*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl wait.1Sg that-many years

kolku *što* *ḱe* *rečeš.*
how-many that will.Mod.Cl say.2Sg.Pf.Pres

'I will wait for you as many years as you say.'

2.2. Relativizers of Appositive Noun-Antecedent Relative Clauses

Relativizers of appositive noun-antecedent relative clauses are (a) the inflecting 'wh' words *koj* 'who/which', and *čij* 'whose', each of which has three singular forms, representing masculine, feminine, and neuter gender and a common plural form, while *koj* also has distinct accusative and dative singular forms (*cf.* Table 1 above), and (b) some adverbial 'wh' words. All of these relativizers can be accompanied by the invariant 'wh' relativizer *što*.[12]

2.2.1. The forms of the appositive relativizer *koj*, most often accompanied by *što*, relate to nouns representing unique objects and agree with them in gender and number:

(10) a. *Majka* *mi,* *koja(što)* *dojde*
mother 1Sg.Dat.Cl who.F.Sg+that come.3Sg.Aor

včera, *ḱe* *ni* *napravi* *torta.*
yesterday, will.Mod.Cl 1Pl.Dat.Cl make.3Sg.Pf.Pres cake

'My mother, who came yesterday, will make a cake for us.'

b. *Jovan,* *kogo(što)* *vie* *ne*
Jovan who.M.Sg.Acc+that you not

go *sakate,* *ne* *e* *loš* *čovek.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl like.2Pl not be.3Sg bad.M.Sg man

'Jovan, who you do not like, isn't a bad man.'

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[12] As a rule, the invariant relativizer *što* occurs in appositive relative clauses only as an accompaniment of the inflecting relativizers (*cf.* Korubin 1969). With the reading 'which', however, *što* can occur as an appositive relativizer of a clause:

(i) *Reče* *deka* *nema* *da* *pie,* *što*
say.3Sg.Aor that not+have.3Sg Subjun.Mark drink.3Sg which

ne *zaraduva.*
1Pl.Acc.Cl rejoice.3Sg.Aor

'(S)he said that (s)he would not drink, which made us happy.'

(10) c. *Ovoj* *poznat* *pianist,* *komu(što)*
this.M.Sg renowned.M.Sg pianist who.M.Sg.Dat+that

mu *dadoa* *nagrada,* *ќe*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.3Pl.Aor prize will.Mod.Cl

sviri *utre.*
play.3Sg tomorrow

'This renowned pianist, who was given a prize, will play tomorrow.'

d. *Ovie* *sliki,* *koi(što)* *voopšto* *ne* *mi*
these pictures which.Pl+that completely not 1Sg.Dat.Cl

se *bendisuvaat,* *stavete* *gi* *na* *tavan!*
Acc.Refl.Cl like.3Pl put.2Pl.Imper 2Pl.Acc.Cl on attic

'Put these pictures, which I do not like at all, in the attic!'

2.2.2. The forms of the relativizers *čij,* often accompanied by *što,* have an antecedent in the main clause, but agree in gender and number with the noun in the relative clause which they modify:

(11) a. *Majka* *mi,* *čii(što)* *sliki* *gi*
mother 1Sg.Dat.Cl whose.Pl+that pictures 3Pl.Acc.Cl

bendisuvate, *doaǵa* *utre.*
like.2Pl come.1Sg tomorrow

'My mother, whose pictures you like, is coming tomorrow.'

b. *Jovan,* *čija(što)* *ќerka* *ti* *e*
Jovan whose.F.Sg+that daughter 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg

student, *raboti* *ovde.*
student work.3Sg here

'Jovan, whose daughter is a student of yours, works here.'

c. *Ovie* *slikari,* *čija(što)* *kniga* *ja*
these painters whose.F.Sg+that book 3F.Acc.Cl

vidovte, *patuvaat* *za* *Pariz.*
see.2Pl travel.3Pl for Paris

'These painters, whose book you saw, are traveling to Paris.'

2.2.3. The adverbial 'wh' words *koga* 'when', *kade* 'where', and *kolku* 'how many', the latter two followed by *što,* relate to unique nouns which denote time, place and quantity, respectively:

(12) a. *Dojdete* *sledniot* *petok,* *koga*
come.2Pl.Imper following+the.M.Sg Friday when

ќе *imame* *poveќе* *vreme!*
will.Mod.Cl have.1Pl more time

'Come the following Friday, when we shall have more time!'

b. *Letame* *za* *Pariz,* *kade* *što* *ќе*
fly.1Pl for Paris where that will.Mod.Cl

ostaneme *cela* *nedela.*
remain.1Pl.Pf.Pres whole.F.Sg week

'We are flying to Paris, where we shall stay a whole week.'

c. *Taa* *go* *čekaše* *celi* *deset* *godini,*
she 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl wait.3Sg.Imperf whole.Pl ten years

kolku *što* *toj* *ne* *se* *nadevaše.*
as-many that he not Acc.Refl.Cl hope.3Sg.Imperf

'She waited for him ten whole years, an amount of time he had not hoped for.'

3. Pronoun-Antecedent Relative Clauses

By and large, the pronoun-antecedent relative clauses are restrictive relative clauses,[13] and have most of the relativizers that the restrictive noun-antecedent relative clauses have, though the relativizer *što* is here more frequently used than the inflecting relativizers or the combinations of inflecting and invariant relativizers. Unlike the noun-antecedent relative clauses, the pronoun-antecedent relative clauses can, however, have general and specific reference and may be referred to as general or specific.

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[13] The personal pronouns *jas* 'I', *ti* 'you.Sg', *nie* 'we', and *vie* 'you.Pl' can also be referred to by appositive relative clauses:

(i) *Jas,* *kojšto* *sum* *negov* *prijatel,* *ne* *možam*
I who.M.Sg+that be.1Sg his friend not can.1Sg

da *go* *storam* *toa.*
Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.1Sg.Pf.Pres that

'I, who am his friend, cannot do that.'

(ii) *Vie,* *koišto* *ništo* *ne* *razbirate,* *ne* *možete* *ništo*
you.Pl who.Pl+that nothing not understand.2Pl not can.2Pl nothing

da *storite.*
Subjun.Mark do.2Pl

'You, who understand nothing, cannot do anything.'

3.1. General Pronoun-Antecedent Relative Clauses

Heads of the general pronoun-antecedent relative clauses are a number of deictic or indefinite pronouns with special meaning and pronominal adverbs whose forms relate to them. The predicates of these clauses have typically imperfective verbs in the present tense or perfective verbs in the present or past tense, preceded by modal clitics.

3.1.1. The deictics heading the general pronoun-antecedent relative clauses include the proximate to 2nd person deictic pronouns *toj* 'that.M.Sg', *toa* 'that.N.Sg', and *tie* 'those', the distal deictic pronouns *onoj* 'that.M.Sg.Dist', *ona* 'that.N.Sg.Dist', and *onie* 'those.Dist' and, in some cases, the proximate to 1st person, singular, or plural, deictic pronouns *ova* 'this.N.Sg' and *ovie* 'these'.[14] The feature contents of these pronouns differs from the feature contents of the deictics that are not heads of relative clauses. While *toj*, *onoj, tie*, and *onie* refer to human beings, *toa* and *ona* refer to things. The usage of the deictic pronoun *onoj* 'that.M.Sg.Dist' is practically analogous to the usage of the personal pronoun *toj* 'he', the usage of the deictic pronoun *onie* 'those.Dist' is practically analogous to the usage of the personal pronoun *tie* 'they', and the usage of the deictic pronoun *ona* 'that.N.Sg.Dist' is practically analogous to the usage of the personal pronoun *toa* 'it'.[15]

(13) a_1 *Toj/ onoj (koj)što pobeduva dobiva nagradi.*
he that.M.Sg.Dist who.M.Sg+that win.3Sg get.3Sg prizes
'The one who wins gets prizes.'

a_2 *Toj/ onoj (koj)što ќe*
he that.M.Sg.Dist who.M.Sg+that will.Mod.Cl
pobedi ќe dobie nagrada.
win.3Sg.Pf.Pres will.Mod.Cl get.3Sg.Pf.Pres prize
'The one who wins will get a prize.'

a_3 *Toj/ onoj (koj)što ќe*
he that.M.Sg.Dist who.M.Sg+theat will.Mod.Cl
pobedeše ќe dobieše nagrada.
win.3Sg.Pf.Imperf will.Mod.Cl get.3Sg.Pf.Imperf prize
'The one who would win would get a prize.'

[14] The deictics are discussed in section 6 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals".

[15] There is a difference in usage. The proximate to 2nd person deictic pronouns are much more frequently used than the distal ones. The examples in ($13c_1$–c_2) are from Bužarovska (2006); they were taken from the Internet.

(13) b_1 *Toa/ ona* *što* *go* *barate*
it that.N.Sg.Dist that 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl look-for.2Pl

go *dobivate.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl get.2Pl

'You get what you want.'

b_2 *Toa/ ona* *što* *ќe* *go*
it that.N.Sg.Dist that will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

pobarate *ќe* *go* *dobiete.*
look-for.2Pl.Pf.Pres will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl get.2Pl.Pf.Pres

'You will get what you look for.'

b_3 *Toa/ ona* *što* *ќe* *go*
it that.N.Sg.Dist that will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

pobaraa *ќe* *go* *dobiea.*
look-for.3Pl.Aor will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl get.3Pl.Impf.Imperf

'They would get whatever they would look for.'

c_1 *...dojde* *do* *ova* *što* *denes* *ni*
come.3Sg.Aor to this.N.Sg that today 1Pl.Dat.Cl

se *slučuva...*
Acc.Refl.Cl happen.3Sg

'...this led to what is happening to us today...' (lit. '...it came to what is happening to us today...')

c_2 *...ovie* *što* *se* *na* *vlast* *i* *onie/* *tie*
these that be.3Pl on power and those.Dist they

što *bea...*
that be.3Pl.Imperf

'...the ones that are in power and the ones that were...'

3.1.2. Most of the basic, negative, and generalizing indefinite pronouns used as heads of general pronoun-antecedent relative clauses are derivatives from the 'wh' words *koj* 'who' or *što* 'what', though they differ from the other derivatives of *koj* 'who' and *što* 'what' in inflecting for case but not for gender and number.[16]

[16] The relative clause referring to the pronoun *site* 'all', which does not derive from *koj* 'who/which' and includes the plural form of the definite article *-te* is, as a rule, followed by the invariant relativizer *što* 'that', and has third person plural verbs, agreeing with the pronoun *site*:

(14) a_1 *Nekoj* *kojšto/* *što* *bara* *pomoš*
someone who.M.Sg+that that look-for.3Sg help

ne *treba* *da* *se* *prepira.*
not should.3Sg Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl quarrel.3Sg

'Someone who is looking for help should not quarrel.'

a_2 *Baraat* *nekogo* *kojšto/* *što* *ќe*
look-for.3Pl somebody.Acc who.M.Sg+that that will.Mod.Cl

im *pomogne.*
3Pl.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'They are looking for someone who will help them.'

a_3 *Baraa* *nešto* *što* *bi*
look-for.3Pl.Imperf something that would.Cond.Cl

im *se* *bendisalo.*
3Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl liked.N.Sg.*l*-Part

'They were looking for something that would please them.'

b_1 *Nikoj* *kojšto/* *što* *bara* *pomoš*
no-one who.M.Sg+that that look-for.3Sg help

ne *treba* *da* *se* *prepira.*
not should.3Sg Subjun.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl quarrel.3Sg

'No one who is looking for help should quarrel.'

b_2 *Ne* *baraat* *nikogo* *kogošto*
not look-for.3Pl nobody.Acc who.M.Sg.Acc+that

ne *možat* *da* *go* *najdat.*
not can.3Pl Subjun.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl find.3Pl.Pf.Pres

'They are not looking for anyone who they cannot find.'

(i) *Site* *što* *ќe* *dojdat* *se* *dobredojdeni.*
all that will.Mod.Cl come.3Pl.Pf.Pres be.3Pl welcome.Pl.Pass.Part
'All those that come are welcome.'

The indefinite pronoun *sešto* 'all kinds of things' is not used as a pronominal head of a relative clause. Instead, one uses the pronoun *sè* 'everything', which is not based on a 'wh' word:

(ii) *Zemete* *sè* *što* *sakate!*
take.2Pl.Imper everything that want.2Pl
'Take everything that you want!'

(14) b_3 *Ne baraat ništo što ne e skapo.*
not look-for.3Pl nothing that not be.3Sg expensive.N.Sg
'They are not looking for anything that is not expensive.'

c_1 *Sekoj kojšto/ što ќe*
someone who.M.Sg+that that will.Mod.Cl
dojde e dobredojden.
come.3Sg.Pf.Pres be.3Sg welcome.M.Sg.Pass.Part
'Whoever comes is welcome.'

c_2 *Ќe mu pomogneme sekomu*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl help.1Pl.Pf.Pres everyone.Dat
komu(što) možeme.
who.M.Sg.Dat+that can.1Pl
'We shall help whoever we can.'

3.1.3. The adverbial heads whose forms relate to deictic or indefinite pronouns denote time, place, manner, or quantity and have relative clauses introduced by corresponding 'wh' adverbs, which, except when they denote time, are followed by the invariant 'wh' word *što*.[17]

(15) a. *Dojdi togaš koga možeš!*
come.2Sg.Imper then when can.2Sg
'Come when you can!'

b. *Tamu kade što ќe poseeš*
there where that will.Mod.Cl sow.2Sg.Pf.Pres
ќe žneeš.
will.Mod.Cl reap.2Sg
'You will reap where you sow.'

c. *Taka kako što ќe poseeš*
that-way/so which-way that will.Mod.Cl sow.2Sg.Pf.Pres
ќe žneeš.
will.Mod.Cl reap.2Sg
'You will reap as you sow.'

[17] Not all adverbs can be used as heads of relative clauses.

(15) d. *Ostani* *tolku* *kolku* *što* *možeš!*
remain.2Sg.Imper that-much as-much that can.2Sg
'Stay as long as you can!'

(16) a_1 *Dojdi* *nekogaš* *koga* *ќe* *imaš* *vreme!*
come.2Sg.Imper sometime when will.Mod.Cl have.2Sg time
'Come when you have time!'

a_2 *Ne* *zboruvaj* *nikogaš* *koga* *nema*
not speak.2Sg.Imper never when not+have.3Sg
što *da* *kažeš!*
what Subjun.Mark say.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'Never talk when you have nothing to say!'

b_1 *Stavi* *go* *nekade* *kade* *što* *ќe*
put.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl somewhere where that will.Mod.Cl
možeš *da* *go* *vidiš!*
can.2Sg Subjun.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Pf.Pres
'Put it somewhere where you can see it!'

b_2 *Odi* *sekade* *kade* *što* *ќe*
go.3Sg everywhere where that will.Mod.Cl
go *viknat.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl call.3Pl.Pf.Pres
'He goes wherever they ask him to.'

3.2. Specific Pronoun-Antecedent Relative Clauses

The specific pronoun-antecedent relative clauses can be headed by any deictic or indefinite pronoun whose reference is contextually specified. The predicates of these clauses can have verbs of any form.

3.2.1. While the deictics heading the general pronoun-antecedent relative clauses include the proximate to 2nd person deictic pronouns *toj* 'that.M.Sg', *toa* 'that.N.Sg', and *tie* 'those', the distal deictic pronouns *onoj* 'that.M.Sg.Dist', *ona* 'that.N.Sg.Dist', and *onie* 'that.Pl.Dist' and, only in some cases, the proximate to 1st person deictic pronouns *ova* 'this.N.Sg' and *ovie* 'these', the deictics heading the specific pronoun-antecedent relative clauses include proximate to 1st and 2nd person and distal deictic pronouns of any kind. As shown in (17), they refer to contextually specified animate or inanimate ([±animate]), human or non-human ([±human]), and concrete or abstract ([±concrete]) nouns, and correspond to their gender features:

(17) a$_1$ *Dojdoa* *devojkite.* *Taa*
come.3Pl.Aor girls.F.Pl+the.Pl that.Prox2.F.Sg

što *ja* *izbravme* *e* *ovde.*
that 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl choose.1Pl.Aor be.3Sg here

'The girls came. The one we chose is here.'

a$_2$ *Dojdoa* *pet* *deca.* *Toa*
come.3Pl.Aor five children.N.Pl that.Prox2.N.Sg

što *go* *čekavme* *ne* *dojde.*
that 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl wait.1Pl.Imperf not come.3Sg.Aor

'There came five children. The one we were waiting for didn't come.'

b$_1$ *Utepavme* *mnogu* *fazani.* *Ovoj* *što*
kill.1Pl.Aor many pheasants.M.Pl this.M.Sg that

go *gledate* *e* *najgolemiot.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Pl.Pf.Pres be.3Sg Superl+big+the.M.Sg

'We killed many pheasants. This one that you see is the biggest one.'

b$_2$ *Produkcijata* *ima* *nekolku* *fazi* *i*
production+the.F.Sg have.3Sg several phases.F.Pl and

ovaa *što* *ja* *gledate* *e* *završnata.*
this.F.Sg that 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.2Pl be.3Sg final+the.F.Sg

'The production has several phases and the one that you see is the final one.'

b$_3$ *Vidovme* *mnogu* *ubavi* *pretstavi,* *no* *ovie* *što*
see.1Pl.Aor many nice.Pl shows.F.Pl but these.Pl that

gi *vidovme* *deneska* *se* *najubavi.*
3Pl.Acc.Cl see.1Pl.Aor today be.3Pl Superl+nice.Pl

'We have seen many shows, but the ones that we saw today are nicest.'

c$_1$ *Im* *davam* *nov* *predlog.* *Onoj*
3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg new.M.Sg proposal.M.Sg that.M.Sg.Dist

što *Ana* *go* *dade* *ne* *go*
that Ana 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

prifatija.
accept.3Pl.Aor

'I am giving them a new proposal. They did not accept the one that Ana gave.'

(17) c_2 *Vi* *donesovme* *sliki,* *no* *onie* *što*
2Pl.Dat.Cl bring.1Pl.Aor pictures.F.Pl but that.Pl.Dist that

gi *baravte* *se* *zagubile.*
3Pl.Acc.Cl ask.2Pl.Imperf Acc.Refl.Cl lost.Pl.*l*-Part

'We brought you pictures, but the ones that you wanted are lost.'

3.2.2. The indefinite pronouns heading specific pronoun-antecedent relative clauses also refer to contextually specified animate or inanimate ([±animate]), human or non-human ([±human]), or concrete or abstract ([±concrete]) nouns and may inflect not only for case but also for gender and number.

(18) a_1 *Vašata* *čistačka* *ne* *im*
your.F.Sg+the.F.Sg cleaning-woman.F.Sg not 3Pl.Dat.Cl

se *bendisuva;* *baraat* *nekoja*
Refl.Acc.Cl like.3Sg look-for.3Pl someone.F.Sg

što *ќe* *pegla* *ubavo.*
that will.Mod.Cl iron.3Sg well

'They do not like your cleaning woman; they are looking for one that would iron well.'

a_2 *Ova* *mesto* *ne* *go* *sakam.*
this.N.Sg.Prox1 place.N.Sg not 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl want.1Sg

Dajte *mi* *nekoe* *od* *koe/*
give.2Pl.Imper 1Pl.Dat.Cl some.N.Sg from which.N.Sg

koešto *ќe* *ja* *vidam*
which.N.Sg+that will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Pf.Pres

scenata!
stage+the.F.Sg

'I don't like this seat. Give me one from which I can see the stage!'

b_1 *Bara* *žena,* *ama* *na* *sekoja* *što*
look-for.3Sg wife.F.Sg but to every-one.F.Sg that

mu *ja* *pokažavme* *ì*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl show.1Pl.Aor 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl

najde *mana.*
find.3Sg.Aor fault.F.Sg

'He is looking for a wife, but found a fault with everyone that we showed him.'

(18) b_2 *Dojdoa* *mnogu* *devojki.* *Sekoja* *što*
come.3Pl.Aor many girls.F.Pl every one.F.Sg that

ja *vidov* *mi* *se* *bendisa.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor 1Sg.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl like.3Sg.Aor

'Many girls came. I liked everyone that I saw.'

4. Free Relative Clauses

The free relative clauses actually function as noun-antecedent clauses with 'wh' words as subjects, complements, or adjuncts.

4.1. The free relative clauses functioning as subjects of main clauses are introduced by the [+human] 'wh' word *koj*, translating into English as 'whoever', and are optionally accompanied by the invariant relativizer *što* 'that', but do not inflect for gender or number. They occur in the specifier position of the main clause or post-verbally.

(19) a. *Koj(?što)* *ќe* *dojde* *na* *vreme,*
who+that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Pf.Pres on time

ќe *dobie* *besplatna* *karta.*
will.Mod.Cl get.3Sg.Pf.Pres free.F.Sg ticket

'Whoever comes on time will get a free ticket.'

b_1 *Koj(?što)* *saka,* *može* *da* *dojde.*
who+that want.3Sg can.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres

'Whoever wants may come.'

b_2 *Može* *da* *dojde* *koj(?što)* *saka.*
can.3Sg Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres who+that want.3Sg

'Whoever wants may come.'

4.2. The free relative clauses functioning as complements of main clauses are introduced by the invariant relativizer *što* 'that', translating into English as 'whatever', or by the Acc or Dat forms of *koj* 'who', *kogo* and *komu*, which may be, but usually are not accompanied by the invariant relativizer *što* 'that'. While *što* refers to [–animate] objects, *kogo* and *komu* refer to [+animate] ones. As shown in (20), these free relative clauses can occur post-verbally or in focus position in the Left Periphery.

(20) a_1 *Ќe* *dobieš* *što* *ќe* *posakaš.*
will.Mod.Cl get.2Sg.Pf.Pres what will.Mod.Cl want.2Sg.Pf.Pres

a_2 *Što* *ќe* *posakaš* *ќe* *dobieš.*
what will.Mod.Cl want.2Sg.Pf.Pres will.Mod.Cl get.2Sg.Pf.Pres

'You will get whatever you want.'

b_1 *Daj* *mu* *go*
give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

komu(?što) *sakaš!*
who.Dat+that want.2Sg

b_2 *Komu(?što)* *sakaš* *daj* *mu*
who.Dat+that want.2Sg give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl

go!
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

'Give it to whoever you want!'

c_1 *Ќe* *izberam* *kogo(?što)* *sakaš.*
will.Mod.Cl choose.1Sg.Pf.Pres whoever.Acc+that want.2Sg

c_2 *Kogo(?što)* *sakaš* *ќe* *izberam.*
who.Acc+that want.2Sg will.Mod.Cl choose.1Sg.Pf.Pres

'I will choose whoever you want.'

4.3. The free relative clauses functioning as adjuncts can be introduced by any 'wh' adverbs, which may be followed by the invariant relativizer *što* 'that'. They occur post-verbally or in focus position in the Left Periphery.

(21) a_1 *Ќe* *odiš* *kade* *(što)* *sakaš.*
will.Mod.Cl go.2Sg where that want.2Sg

a_2 *Kade* *(što)* *sakaš* *ќe* *odiš.*
where that want.2Sg will.Mod.Cl go.2Sg

'You will go wherever you want.'

b_1 *Dojdi* *koga* *(što)* *sakaš!*
come.2Sg.Imper when that want.2Sg

b_2 *Koga* *(što)* *sakaš* *dojdi!*
when that want.2Sg come.2Sg.Imper

'Come whenever you want!'

4.4. All the 'wh' words introducing free relative clauses can be accompanied by the postmodifiers *bilo, gode,* and *i,* followed by the subjunctive marker *da.*[18]

(22) a. *Koj bilo da dojde,*
who been.Pass.Part Subjun.Mark come.3Sg.Pf.Pres

ќe dobie besplatna karta.
will.Mod.Cl get.3Sg.Pf.Pres free.F.Sg ticket

'Whoever comes will get a free ticket.'

b. *Ќe dobieš što i da posakaš.*
will.Mod.Cl get.2Sg.Pf.Pres what and Subj.Mark want.2Sg.Pf.Pres

'You will get whatever you want.'

5. Syntactic Structure and Function of the Relative Clauses

The syntactic structures of the three types of relative clauses do not correspond to their functions.

5.1. While noun-antecedent relative clauses modify the content of their heads, the pronoun-antecedent relative clauses express the basic meaning of the head-plus-relative-clause structure and in this respect functions like the free relative clause.

5.2. The function of the relative clause is, in some respects, influenced by the existence and type of its head. As argued in section 2 above, the deictic or indefinite pronominal heads with special meanings lead to general relative clauses.

[18] These 'wh' words are discussed in section 5 of chapter 8, entitled "Pronominals". Note that Bužarovska (2006) refers to the free relatives with postmodifiers as "selective free relatives".

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A Grammar of Macedonian is the first comprehensive reference grammar to this language couched in the framework of generative grammar. The author has ensured cross-framework accessibility of the data by the constrained use of technical terminology and frequent reference to non-generative grammars of Macedonian, in particular to the works of Blaže Koneski and Zuzanna Topolinjska.

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